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ABSTRACT

This study used qualitative research methods to investigate instructional and noninstructional interactions of Hispanic and non-Hispanic teachers with Hispanic American students. Two monolingual non-Hispanic teachers and two bilingual (Spanish and English) teachers at two public elementary schools were participants. The teachers had similar teaching styles and made similar efforts to clarify, monitor, and expand their students' understanding. The most striking difference was the use of Spanish by bilingual teachers with Hispanic students during personal or casual conversations. This connection provided an avenue for teachers to ease the acculturation experiences of their students. There was also an observable difference between monolingual non-Hispanic teachers' expectations of Hispanic students and the bilingual teachers' expectations. Monolingual teachers said they had equal expectations, but bilingual teachers were aware that they had a special understanding of their students' problems. Hispanic teachers assumed mentorship roles for Hispanic students in a way not observed with the non-Hispanic teachers. Three tables present study findings. (Contains 127 references.) (SLD)

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Aspects of Culture, Language, and Teacher Expectations in Public Schools: Implications for Spanish Speaking Students

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Curriculum and Instruction

by
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December, 1993

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

LIST OF TABLES vi

ABSTRACT vii

CHAPTER I.
Introduction 1
Focus of the study. 3
Theoretical framework 4
Method of investigation 8
Limitations 10
Definitions 11
Significance of the research. 14
Summary 19

CHAPTER II.
Introduction. 20
Why a study of classroom culture is important . 20
How schools replicate and transmit culture. . . 22
Teacher expectations. 31
Hispanic students 34
Classroom discourse 44
Recommendations for instruction 46
Conclusions and implications. 57
Summary 58

CHAPTER III.
Introduction. 59
Research design 60
Issues from previous research 62
Programs for Spanish speaking students. 64
Setting and informants. 65
Research methods. 70
Research strategies 71
Analytic questions. 74
Data collection techniques. 75
Data analysis strategies. 76
Researchers role management 78
Summary 79

CHAPTER IV.
Introduction. 80
Teacher profiles. 80
Classroom profiles: Common features 85
Instructional interactions. 89
Noninstructional interactions 95
Teacher expectations. 103
Summary 106

CHAPTER V.
Introduction 108
Reproduction of the dominant culture 109
Pedagogical implications 113
Recommendations for future research. 117
Summary. 118

REFERENCES. 120

VITA. 137

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ABSTRACT

Students whose first language is not English often experience difficulty in the public school system even after they have attained English proficiency. The results of this study suggested that the cause of their problem is the cultural mismatch between the culture of the classroom and the home culture of the students. Some characteristics of the dominant culture impede the language minority students' ability to access and fully participate in instructional activities. These characteristics are especially evident in the school culture.

This study employed qualitative research methods in order to investigate the instructional and noninstructional interactions of Hispanic and nonHispanic teachers with Hispanic students. Two monolingual nonHispanic teachers and two bilingual (Spanish and English) teachers at two public elementary schools were participants in this study. Classroom observations and interviews with the teachers provided data that indicated:

1. There were no observable differences in the teachers' instructional interactions. All of the teachers used a style that closely resembled the "initiation/response/evaluation pattern" or the "recitation script." However, the teachers did organize learning activities that involved the students and emphasized meaning. Every observation showed evidence of the teachers' efforts to clarify, expand, and monitor students' understanding.

2. There were many observable differences between the

monolingual nonHispanic teachers and the bilingual Hispanic teachers in regard to their noninstructional interactions. The most striking of these differences was the bilingual teachers' use of Spanish during personal or casual conversations with the Hispanic students. This connection between Spanish speaking teachers and students provided an avenue for the teachers to ease their students' acculturation experience.

3. There was an observable difference between the monolingual nonHispanic teachers' expectations of Hispanic students and the bilingual Hispanic teachers' expectations of Hispanic students. Whereas the monolingual nonHispanic teachers reported that they had equal expectations for all of their students, the bilingual Hispanic teachers were aware that they had a special understanding of the problems faced by bilingual students. These higher expectations led to the Hispanic teachers assuming the role of mentor for the Hispanic students. This type of relationship between teacher and student was not evident among any other group observed.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

When researchers study a language minority population in the schools, they often see only the obvious--the language diversity. The fact that these students do not speak English as their native language is often seen as the primary reason for the students' academic difficulties. What researchers are missing, however, is the possibility that these academic difficulties may be caused by something other than language diversity.

Many language minority students are labeled as limited English proficient and placed in special classes that are designed to increase their ability to speak English. These classes may either be termed "bilingual" or "English as a Second Language" (ESL). The goal of the bilingual classes is to provide instruction in both the first and second languages so that the students will be literate in both languages. These bilingual programs are usually transitional in nature. Primary language instruction is provided until the students have acquired English. The students are then transitioned into classrooms that offer all English instruction and literacy in the students' primary language is no longer offered. The only exception to this is the maintenance bilingual education programs in which the goals are full

bilingualism and biliteracy for limited English speaking students.

ESL programs are much more common. The ESL programs differ in that they do not provide instruction in the students' primary language and therefore are concerned only with the students' literacy in English. Instruction in ESL classrooms concentrates on the acquisition and learning of English while lessons in content area subjects are usually postponed until the students have demonstrated some proficiency in English.

Once these students have acquired sufficient English to leave these special classes, they enter the mainstream classes. Often, they experience academic difficulty in the "regular" classes even though they have a documented portfolio of successful performance in ESL. If academic difficulty can no longer be attributed to their limited proficiency in English, what, then, are the reasons for their difficulties and for their successes? Clarke (1976) described this transition that the student has to make as an "acculturation experience" because it is at this point that the student is capable of communication but begins to encounter subtle cultural traits that impede successful mainstreaming.

The inclination to view language minority students' achievement solely as an issue of language fails to consider the influences of society, school, and cultural diversity. Furthermore, language diversity is not an adequate

explanation of differential achievement when the numbers of monolingual English speaking Hispanic students who are low achievers are considered.

The problems of Hispanic students have been well documented. According to a 1990 report published by the Policy Analysis Center of the National Council of La Raza, Hispanics are the most undereducated major segment of the U.S. population. Compared to other groups, Hispanics enter school later and leave school earlier. They are also less likely to enter or complete college. Furthermore, the 1990 National Assessment of Educational Progress reported that three out of four Hispanic eighth graders could not pass a test of simple mathematical operations. Not surprisingly, Hispanics continue to have the highest school dropout rates of any major group. By age 16-17, 19.5% of Hispanic students have left school without a diploma. Furthermore, Hispanic students are unlikely to have Hispanic teachers that can act as mentors. While Hispanics make up nearly 10% of the K-12 population nationwide, Hispanic teachers represent only 2.9% of public school teachers in the country (De La Rosa & Maw, 1990).

Focus of the Study

Building upon the background of cultural diversity, one of the goals of this research was to discover the level of importance that teachers' actions have for language minority students' learning. A review of the literature highlighted several broad areas to investigate further. First, does the

public school have its own school culture, and, more specifically, what aspects of that school culture may include or exclude minority students from benefiting from school? Second, are there aspects of the minority students' learning that may not match the school's curriculum? Third, if a mismatch does exist, what can be done to narrow the gap between the school culture and the minority students' culture? Thus, the theoretical framework for this study includes the ideas of cultural discontinuity, structural inequality, and limited access to classroom discourse.

Theoretical Framework

Two theories have been developed to explain why U.S. schools have been less successful in educating minority students. Au (1993) labeled these two theories as "cultural discontinuity" and "structural inequality" (p. 8). Cultural discontinuity centers on a possible mismatch between the student's home culture and the school culture. Structural inequality looks beyond mismatches to the larger forces that effect minority cultures. From the structural inequality point of view, schools function primarily to maintain the status quo. This process is carried out through school policies and practices that are part of the school's hidden curriculum.

Many researchers have studied the apparent discontinuity between school expectations and the performances of minority students. Spindler (1987) suggested that culturally diverse students may face difficulty because of the diversity between

their home cultures and the school culture. Mehan (1979) argued that the problem lay in the students' lack of classroom competence which he described as the students' ability to know the content of academic subjects and the appropriate form in which to display that knowledge. Rueda (1991) noted that minority students exhibit "behaviors and understandings that are unique to their culture and inconsistent with the school context" (p. 97). Therefore, the minority student has to learn a new language, acquire new cultural values, and compete with native students who already possess the linguistic, social, and cultural knowledge that the minority students must acquire (Trueba, 1989).

In order to become a member of a new cultural group, the students must have specific sociolinguistic and cultural knowledge (Trueba, 1989). Without this knowledge, the students are unable to access fully the academic knowledge that is being presented to them in schools. Even after minority students have attained English proficiency, they are excluded from instruction because they lack the knowledge that is needed to participate in classroom discourse (Trueba, 1989).

Classroom discourse is of central importance to the exchange of information and knowledge between teachers and students. For teachers, discourse is the primary method of instruction. For students, it's the primary method of participation. Through discourse, students participate in

both the academic and social aspects of the school culture (Horowitz, in press).

Another discontinuity is that the discourse features of the home language do not match the discourse features of the school language (Mehan, 1991). Middle-income Anglo parents:

> ...engage their children in "mini-lessons" at home, in which they ask known-information questions, information out of context, and push for abstract connections and analysis. This parallels the classroom discourse that children encounter in school. However, low-income and minority parents ask their children questions that elicit real information, and that lead children to draw analogies and to synthesize information. (p. 3)

While "drawing analogies and synthesizing information" may be the stated goals in the classroom, the instructional discourse that occurs in the classroom does not always meet this goal. Therefore, when minority students enter school, they are confronted with very different rules of classroom discourse (Cazden, 1986, 1988; Mercer & Edwards, 1989; Ward, 1971).

The ways in which school performance may vary between cultures was illustrated in research by Heath (1983). Her comparison of African American working class children in Trackton, white working class children in Roadville, and middle class children of both racial groups in Gateway showed

that literacy in the home and community is very much a part of the culture. She concluded that different cultures have different beliefs about language, literacy, and discourse as well as how to display the students' competencies in school settings.

So far, two possible explanations of why these students experience academic difficulty in the mainstream classes have been offered. One, that there is a cultural mismatch between the students' home culture and the culture of the classroom; and, two, that the students face difficulty in fully comprehending the instruction because of the diversity in discourse styles. For the purposes of this study, I looked primarily at the interaction between the teachers and the students and determined what, if any, differences exist between the classrooms of monolingual English speaking teachers and the classrooms of bilingual Hispanic teachers. The following analytic questions were developed as a preliminary guide to gathering data:

1. What are some of the similarities and differences between the instructional interactions with students of monolingual nonHispanic teachers and bilingual Hispanic teachers?

2. What are some of the similarities and differences in noninstructional interactions between monolingual nonHispanic teachers and bilingual Hispanic teachers?

3. What aspects of culture, language, and teacher expectations in the public school classroom are important for teacher development?

4. What are the implications of language, culture, and teacher expectations in the public school classroom for teacher development?

Method of Investigation

In order to investigate these explanations, a qualitative research study was pursued. This paradigm of inquiry was best suited for this study because, unlike quantitative researchers who assume that "there is a single tangible reality 'out there,'" naturalistic research assumes that "there are multiple constructed realities" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; p. 37). This philosophical difference regarding the ontology of classroom interactions was paramount in choosing qualitative research methodologies, especially when investigating aspects of school culture.

I observed nonHispanic monolingual English speaking teachers and bilingual (Spanish and English) Hispanic teachers who teach Hispanic students in mainstream classes. I also interviewed the teachers in order to ascertain the teachers' beliefs about their instructional strategies and the effectiveness of those strategies with Hispanic students. I concentrated my observations on classroom discourse styles of both monolingual and bilingual teachers and on the classroom "culture" that existed.

Qualitative methodology was chosen for this study because "questions and problems for research most often come from real-world observations, dilemmas, and questions" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 28). This study also examines cultures, and, in order to examine culture, one must investigate systems of meaning (Spradley, 1979). A cultural concept leads one to investigate the meanings behind, and the effects of, the behaviors exhibited by the school personnel and the minority students.

The values of a culture manifest themselves in the way they affect the policies implemented by school administrators (Kelly, 1979). In state capitals, for example, when policies are formulated to change education systems, the values of people are transformed into a set of policy statements. Therefore, much can be learned about a culture by understanding these values. However, these values and the processes are not neatly arranged and ordered (Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989). Therefore, a qualitative research study is the best way to capture and organize the complex and value-laden dynamics of the behaviors exhibited by the participants in public schools.

This study concentrates on moment-to-moment classroom interaction and hopes to gain a more holistic perspective on teacher-student interactions. Towards that end, I have provided a description and an interpretive account of what selected teachers do in their classrooms and the way teachers perceive what they are doing. I observed what teachers do,

concentrated on the interaction between teachers and students, and determined what differences were apparent in the interactions between the monolingual and bilingual teachers.

Limitations

In an attempt to discover specific answers to the broad analytic questions posed earlier, certain limitations had to be recognized.

First, this study investigated only monolingual nonHispanic teachers and bilingual Hispanic teachers. African American and Asian American teachers were not considered because they represent other cultures, and, while the characteristics of those cultures may indeed have an effect on Hispanic students, I do not believe it has as large an effect as the dominant Anglo culture does. A follow-up study that investigates the relationship between African American or Asian American teachers and students of similar and diverse cultures would be useful to explore this relationship.

Second, only elementary school teachers were observed. Although a cultural mismatch may extend to secondary schools, I believe that elementary school-aged students have not yet developed social and cognitive skills to help them overcome this mismatch, and, therefore the discontinuity would be more apparent. Again, a follow-up study that compares elementary students to secondary students in regard to their level of successful acculturation would be useful.

Third, this study concentrates specifically on the possible mismatch of cultures. Therefore, the issues of race, gender, and class are not addressed. This point is important because it indicates that there are elements in the dominant culture that are not specific to one classification. Similar studies in which a mismatch based on race, gender, or class would be helpful in order to investigate this possibility.

Definitions

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions will be used:

Hispanic - While it is acknowledged that this term can be problematic, it is used in this study as an all-encompassing description of a group of people who come from homes where Spanish is the primary language. The Hispanic teachers who participated in this study were Mexican American and Puerto Rican. The Hispanic students observed in the classrooms were from many different parts of Central America. While the cultures of these participants may be similar in some respects, they are admittedly different in others. The results of this study indicated that it was not the shared home cultures of the participants that provided a link between the teachers and students as much as their similar experiences as students in public schools where English was the language of instruction and their ability to communicate in Spanish.

language minority - A group of people whose primary language is not English. In this study, the term refers specifically to teachers and students who spoke Spanish as their primary language.

minority - A group of people whose language and culture are not those of the dominant society.

monolingual - The ability to speak and understand only one language. In this study, the term refers to English.

bilingual - The ability to speak and understand two languages. In this study, the term refers to Spanish and English.

Limited English proficient - Students who are learning English and have developed a limited ability in the language. In this study, the term refers to students whose first language is Spanish.

ESL - English as a Second Language. A course of study designed for teaching English to non-English speakers. ESL does not use the students' first language for instructional purposes.

teacher expectations - Inferences that teachers make about their students' achievement or behavior based on what they know about their students (Good, 1987).

culture - The term "culture" is much more difficult to define. A review of the literature yielded myriad definitions. Some of the more applicable definitions follow.

Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) defined culture as "a dynamic process of interaction among persons within a

specified environment in which common values and belief systems influence their perception of and reaction to life situations" (p. 28). This definition represents a type of thinking that holds that "culture is composed of psychological structures by means of which individuals or groups of individuals guide their behavior" (Geertz, 1973, p. 11). Goodenough's definition of a society's culture--"consisting of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members" (in Geertz, 1973)--exemplifies this school of thought.

The concept of culture, then, has many complex characteristics. Gollnick and Chinn (1990) characterized culture as being learned, shared, adapted, and continually changing. First, individuals learn their culture through the actions of family members and others. Second, culture is shared by members of the cultural group. Third, culture is capable of adapting to environmental, economic, or political conditions. Fourth, culture is in a continuous state of change.

From the preceding definitions, it becomes evident that culture is such a broad concept, that it almost defies a succinct definition. Geertz (1973) gave the most useful interpretation of the concept of culture (what he called a "thick description") when he wrote:

> The concept of culture I espouse is...
> essentially a semiotic one. Believing...that
> man is an animal suspended in webs of significance

> he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. (p. 5)

Therefore, the concept of a culture is not one to be defined as much as it is one to be described. This type of cultural description is the aim of this research. By describing the school culture of the classroom the invisible may become visible. That is, through observation and analysis, the cultural atmosphere that envelopes the students and the teachers may become less enigmatic and more revealing. Therefore, the term "culture" will not be defined here as much as it will be described in chapter five.

Significance of the Research

A study of the culture of a school and of the ways in which teachers replicate that school culture broadens the knowledge base about the impact of school culture upon students' learning. By describing the culture of the classroom--which Giroux (1983) called the "hidden curriculum"--the invisible will become visible. That is, what kinds of teaching support Hispanic students' success in the classroom and what kinds of teaching detract from it?

Key assumptions to this study are that education plays a fundamental role in maintaining the existent dominant society and that this replication is accomplished both explicitly and implicitly. Giroux (1983) recognized the implicit nature of this reproduction. "The transmission and reproduction of

dominant values and beliefs via the hidden curriculum is both acknowledged and accepted as a positive function of the schooling process" (p. 48).

American education and public school policies are shaped by society and by a history that continues to view schools and teaching in much the same way as our grandparents did (Kutz & Roskelly, 1991). However, today's school population is unlike that of our grandparents' classrooms. Today's students are increasingly diverse, and that means that teachers encounter students whose first language is not English and whose ways of learning evolved from cultures that may be different from the dominant culture. Such students are less prepared to enter the public schools of the dominant culture.

Despite this diverse population within the schools, the cultural values of the Anglo-Saxon group have been maintained.

> Through dominance of American institutions ...this group has managed to direct the acculturation and assimilation of other ethnic groups. Thus, it has more or less successfully acculturated and assimilated some ethnic minorities, acculturated but not assimilated some, and failed to acculturate or assimilate others. (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974; p. 7)

Increasingly, the ethnicity of the student population of public schools is not represented by the teachers and administrators of the school. Trueba (1989) projected that the population of limited English proficient students will reach about 3.5 million by the year 2000, not counting the children of undocumented workers. Teachers and administrators, however, are projected to be mostly Anglo-Americans. The linguistic minority students often experience difficulty in the public school system even after they have attained English proficiency. If language diversity is not the cause of their academic difficulty, then what is? This study attempts to answer that question.

There are many facts about the education of minority students: test scores, immigration trends, and dropout rates. However, there is no usable, encompassing theory for explaining the difficulty that some students encounter even after they have achieved linguistic competence in English. Furthermore, linguistic competence can not be separated from culture. Insider knowledge of the culture is often reflected in the linguistic forms and functions used by the participants. Access to membership requires that an individual acquire not only the linguistic form but the cultural knowledge which is reflected in that linguistic form. Current measures of linguistic competence are oversimplified because of a lack of understanding of the interweavings of language and culture.

This study, therefore, shifts the thinking toward a cultural concept, emphasizing the various ways that values are manifested in school policies and seeking methods to understand the phenomena culturally. This study seeks to identify the phenomena that are significant in the school culture and to understand how the participants organize these phenomena.

Fundamental to this study, is an understanding that a students' home culture affects the ways in which students learn. Although this position will be explored further in the next chapter, it is sufficiently important to expound upon briefly here.

Longstreet (1978) determined that, "...individuals internalize what is important, establish the set of things for which there are names, make some objects and acts usual while others remain unusual, and achieve social attitudes...as members of an ethnic group" (p. 147).

Therefore, the shared experiences of an ethnic group must be highly influential for individual intellectual performance. The basic assumption of the aspect of intellectual modes is that regardless of genetic differences, the way children externalize their thoughts can be linked to their ethnic group. In other words, intellect will be expressed through behaviors that are acquired during the ethnic stages of development.

This research will be of particular interest to both teachers and researchers. Teachers who have Hispanic students in their classrooms need to be aware that these students may be operating from a cultural viewpoint that is different in some respects from the teachers'. Also, the classroom discourse style may not match the students' discourse styles that they learned at home.

Along these lines, Longstreet (1978) described teachers as making decisions based upon how people behave without having any real knowledge of ethnic behaviors beyond those experienced in their own backgrounds. She posits that public schools must realize that ethnicity could significantly influence the way people pay attention as well as the way they study. Public schools have tended to ignore such differences and have continued to reflect their own scholastic ethnicity. "Teachers are continually making decisions based upon how people behave without having any real knowledge of ethnic behaviors beyond those experienced in their own backgrounds" (Longstreet, 1978; p.9).

Researchers will be interested in this study because it looks at a group of students that have been largely ignored by research. There is a large body of research about minority students who have limited English proficiency, but very little of that research has focused upon what happens to these students after they exit the bilingual/ESL classrooms and enter the mainstream classrooms.

It is hoped that an analysis of the naturalistic data collected in this study will yield possible solutions to the problems that these students face in the mainstream classrooms. Furthermore, such solutions would necessarily entail recommendations for the classroom teachers.

Summary

This chapter introduced the main research problem. Specifically, that bilingual students in regular education classes sometimes experience difficulties which are not caused by a limited proficiency in English. These difficulties may stem from "cultural discontinuity" or "structural inequality" (Au, 1993). In order to uncover the source of these difficulties, a naturalistic inquiry using qualitative research techniques was pursued.

Subsequent chapters will elaborate on the importance of undertaking a study of this type, a review of literature that is relevant to this study, a detailed explanation of the qualitative research methods used, and, a discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER II

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to develop a body of descriptive information about teachers' interactions with Hispanic students in regular education classrooms so that educators can create meaningful learning environments and adapt teaching techniques and methodologies to the needs of the student. Towards that end, a review of the literature must examine: 1. why a study of classroom culture is important; 2. how schools replicate and transmit culture; 3. the effect of teachers' expectations; 4. the ways that Hispanic students learn; 5. classroom discourse; and, 6. recommendations for teachers and curriculum.

Why a Study of Classroom Culture is Important

Banks (1988), Cazden, John, and Hymes (1972), and Longstreet (1978) noted that traditions are passed on through language from generation to generation as part of the informal family socialization process. However, these authors do not acknowledge the importance of performance knowledge as well as language knowledge. Cultural traditions that are learned nonverbally such as gender roles, gaze patterns, and gestures, are also vital to learning cultural traditions.

Minority students, whose home culture may not be similar to the school's culture, have to acquire a second culture.

Hamilton (1983) provided a theoretical framework for linking cognitive abilities to learning a new culture. He argued that all knowledge is stored as concepts. The acquisition of cultural concepts is vital to a student's socialization and absolutely necessary for cognitive development. This theory is best summarized by Lado (1986) who wrote that, "Meanings, like forms, are culturally determined or modified. They represent an analysis of the universe as grasped in a culture" (p. 54).

It can be argued, then, that in order to understand students' learning, the students' culture must be considered. Since intellect develops within the atmosphere of an individual's culture, learning and culture are inextricably linked. The roots of any culture are the common values and belief systems shared by its members. This is not to imply that every member of a particular culture holds exactly the same values and belief systems. To say that would be to ignore the dynamism of the culture as well as individual differences of personality. It is observable and demonstrable, however, that members of a culture hold something deep within themselves, sometimes at the unconscious level, which influences their thinking and behavior, making them more like members of their own culture than like members of another culture. In her study of culture, Kelly (1979) reached the following conclusions:

1. Certain fundamental cultural values are common to people who share the same heritage.

2. Some cultural values are more predominant than others.

3. Some of these cultural values are enduring and can be shown to prevail throughout several centuries.

4. These values are manifested and observed in culture-related behavior.

The interrelationship of culture, language, and development is a vital concern for educators. Culture influences the way in which people perceive the world. When teachers and students come from different cultures, the teachers may be unaware of the effect that the students' culture has on their perceptions of the school (Bowman, 1989).

How Schools Replicate and Transmit Culture

It is widely accepted that one of the purposes of public education is to reproduce the society that designed it. In a study designed for cross-cultural counseling, Marsella, Tharp, and Ciborowski (1979) pointed out that schools tend to undertake the following functions: 1. They attempt to teach broad-based, generalizable skills; 2. They bear explicit responsibility for the transmission of some cultural information, such as the history of the society, scientific knowledge, community standards, and the nature of civic responsibilities; (In a multicultural society, such cultural information usually pertains to the majority or dominant culture which operates the school.) and, 3. Schools also bear, in a less explicit way, the burden of

transmitting a large freight of cultural norms which, again, in a multicultural society, usually represent those of the dominant culture. This latter transmission is not often a formally imposed obligation, but it is felt as an implicit responsibility by teachers.

What are these cultural norms? Condon (1986) saw that the dominant value system in the U.S. schools revolved around three interrelated assumptions about humans. These are:

1. that people, apart from social and educational influences, are basically the same.
2. that each person should be judged by his or her own individual merits.
3. that these "merits," including a person's worth and character, are revealed through the person's actions (p. 90).

These values can be seen not only in the school policies and instructional methodologies that are used in the classrooms, but also in the verbal and nonverbal behavior of the teachers. In a study of public schools, Mehan (1979) noted that the teachers provided instruction in "dominant cultural values" and "conventional morality." The cultural values that were taught (both implicitly and explicitly) were independence, achievement, and competition rather than cooperation, understanding of diversity, and proficiency.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have developed a sociology of curriculum that links culture, class, and domination with schooling and knowledge. They rejected theories of cultural

reproduction which view schools as passive reflections of society and argue instead that schools have some autonomy. They are only indirectly influenced by economic and political institutions of the dominant culture.

Bernstein (1977) has also looked at the role that schools play in the cultural reproduction of class relationships. Arguing that education is a major force, Bernstein attempts to illuminate how curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation represent the methods of social control that exist in the dominant culture.

Although their contributions to the theories of cultural reproduction are valuable, Bourdieu, Passeron, and Bernstein fail to offer an alternative educational policy (Giroux, 1983). In fact, they claim that no alternative is possible because all alternatives misrecognize the nature of the reproductive aspects of pedagogy and thereby increase the symbolic violence applied to learners. Thus, alternatives perpetuate the status quo.

Furthermore, the issue of minority students' academic difficulties as a result of such a cultural transmission are not addressed. It is up to other researchers to take the theories proposed by Bourdieu, Passeron, and Bernstein and develop them so that they encompass the issue of minority students in majority culture schools.

Therefore, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the public school system and its teachers have clung to pedagogy and structures that have traditionally recreated the dominant

society through its children. What happens then, when children who are not members of that dominant culture enter the public schools? This is the very dilemma facing minority students today. Not only do they come from families where English may not be spoken, they also may come from cultures which do not resemble the dominant culture represented in the stated and hidden curricula of our public schools.

Although the school's population has changed, the school's structure has not necessarily changed. Typically, a teacher assigns a text, the students master the text, and the teacher then assesses their learning of that text. This procedure is referred to as a "recitation script" by Tharp and Gallimore (1991) and as an "initiation/ response/evaluation pattern" by Mehan (1979) and Cazden (1988). Goodlad (1984) surveyed 38 American schools in 13 communities located in seven regions of the United States. He interviewed hundreds of students and teachers in small and large schools, in low and middle socioeconomic communities, and in both rural and metropolitan areas with diverse cultural and ethnic populations. Even with such a diverse group of subjects, Goodlad and his research team discovered similar kinds of teaching. "For the most part, teachers controlled what transpired, and the focus was on the total groups of students, rather than small groups or individuals. Teachers emphasized rote learning and immediate responses" (Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; p. 14).

It becomes evident, then, that U.S. schools have many things in common. While there may be teachers in the schools who are sensitive to culturally diverse students, there are also teachers who adhere to teacher-centered, large-group instruction focused on tasks related to textbooks which emphasize skills apart from context or real life (Cuban, 1984; Goodlad, 1984). Teaching methods and objectives have primarily been cognitive. That is, they:

> ...emphasize remembering or reproducing something which has presumably been learned, as well as...the solving of some intellective task for which the individual has to determine the essential problem and then reorder given material or combine it with ideas, methods, or procedures previously learned. (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1956, p. 37)

An ethnographic study by Commins and Miramontes (1989) investigated the linguistic performance of four Hispanic bilingual students. The data from their study indicated that the teachers' organization of instruction limited the students' abilities to demonstrate their full range of competence. This, in turn, was interpreted by the teachers as a lack of conceptual ability.

The data also demonstrated that the students strengths were being ignored in the school setting. The teachers who perceived these students as limited, adapted their instruction to fit that perception. As a result, the students

were given tasks that reflected the reductionist curriculum so often evident in the classrooms of working-class students (Moll, 1988).

Such classroom interactions illustrate the situation in which students who are not engaged in meaningful learning have few opportunities to demonstrate the abilities that they do have. It is from this narrow view of learning that teachers judge students' competencies. Those judgments reinforce the teachers' perceptions of the students' "cultural deficiency" (Miramontes & Commins, 1991).

These descriptions of classroom interaction fall in line with the transmission and constructivist models of instruction (von Glasersfeld, 1983). The constructivist model of instruction holds that learners must actively construct their own understandings. In contrast, the transmission model of instruction assumes that knowledge can be transmitted and absorbed by the learner (Au, 1993).

The constructivist model is the most promising for minority students because it involves the students' life experiences and culture in the process of learning. Transmission models assume that knowledge consists of correct and incorrect answers. This assumption denies students a broader understanding of perspectives. Teachers and their instructional methods are extensions of the institution. Trueba (1989) wrote:

> What teachers do and are taught to do is actually congruent with expectations

> of American culture. Indeed, it is a reflection of the mission society has imposed on schools and the role society has ascribed to the teacher as the main architect of a child's education. (p. 37)

Students who are culturally and linguistically diverse need learning environments that continue the learning process started at home. Many mainstream educators do not realize that the reason that minority students experience difficulty in what seems to them to be simple academic tasks is because the tasks are embedded in a "cultural wrapping" (Trueba, 1989) that is difficult to understand.

> The norms of appropriate behavior are neither clearly understood nor accepted, because these very behaviors attempt to replace many previously acquired values of appropriate adult-child and child-child behavior. Furthermore, the content and substance of much of the academic endeavors in elementary education assume cultural knowledge and life experiences that many minority children do not have. (Trueba, 1989, p. 25-26)

Does this type of teacher behavior transmit a school culture? Eisenhart and Cutts-Dougherty (1991) asserted that knowledge is "socially situated and culturally constructed." School culture is taught both implicitly and explicitly through language. The minority student may find themselves in a double bind: they cannot acquire the new culture without understanding the language through which that new

culture is implicitly transmitted. Such classroom competence goes much further than academic matters.

> ...competent membership in the classroom community involves employing interactional skills and abilities in the display of academic knowledge. Students must be able to relate behavior, both academic and social, to varying classroom rules. Successful participation in the culture of the classroom involves the ability to relate behavior, both academic and social, to a given classroom situation in terms of implicit rules. (Mehan, 1979, p. 133)

A number of discussions about the inequality of educational opportunity for Hispanics in the schools have focused on the need to provide educational options within the schools that reflect the cultural needs and backgrounds of the students (Cardenas & Cardenas, 1973; Hymes, 1981; Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974). Broadly stated, this argument requires that schools recognize cultural differences and refrain from imposing choices upon their students. The argument assumes that in a diverse society, the educational system should respect the rights of individuals and groups to maintain identification with their language and culture. Those supporting this position argue that the way a person relates to others, seeks support and recognition, and thinks and learns, should be a personal choice. It has been argued that as a result of imposing a single, uniform and

institutionalized system of values, beliefs, and habits that reflect a white middle-class bias, minority students have not benefited equally from the educational system.

Ochs and Schieffelin's version of "language socialization" (Ochs, 1984; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) corresponds to the perspective put forth by Heath (1986) who considered that "all language learning is culture learning" (p.5) and that the acquisition of knowledge is integrated with the acquisition of language. In Ochs and Schieffelin's view, language socialization encompasses two processes: socialization to use language and socialization through language (Poole, 1992). Both processes point to the interdependence of language and culture.

In a study designed to examine the kinds of cultural messages a second language teacher displays through classroom interaction, Poole (1992) analyzed teacher/student interaction in two beginning ESL classes. The data demonstrated that routine interactional sequences in the classrooms were culturally motivated. Poole concluded that the language used in classrooms was largely societal in origin and that teacher behavior is difficult to change because teachers are fulfilling a culturally prescribed role.

It can be concluded, therefore, that schools do indeed replicate the dominant culture through school policies, instructional methodologies, and the verbal and nonverbal behavior of the teachers. The instructional methodologies and the verbal and nonverbal behavior of the teachers is most

likely to be manifested in the expectations that the teachers hold regarding their students.

Teacher Expectations

Teachers' different expectations of students are often a reflection of their perception of the students. For this study, teacher expectations are defined as inferences that teachers make about the achievement or behavior of their students based on what they know about their students (Good, 1987).

In a seminal study, Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) research on the effects of teacher expectation on student performances found that the teachers elicited more responses, initiated more interactions, and directed more praise toward those students they believed were gifted. In contrast, those students considered nongifted were ignored and were not given enough time to respond to questions. The data and the teachers' responses in post-experimental interviews indicated that the teachers interpreted the students' behavior according to the labels they received. The results supported the relationship between teacher-student interaction and teacher expectation.

These results were further supported by Schrank (1968) in a study in which expectations were created by randomly assigning students to one of five ability groups. The students assigned to the high group achieved significantly higher than the low group. The group achievement means fell into the same order as that assigned to the five ability

groups. Clearly, the labels had affected the amount that each group learned.

Teachers develop different achievement expectations for individual students early in the school year (Good, 1987). The students respond according to the teachers' performance demands and expectations (Brophy & Good, 1970). Brophy (1983) demonstrated that most sizable teacher expectation effects on student achievement are negative, in which low expectations lead to low achievement. Brophy and Good (1972) concluded that teachers develop different attitudes toward students which in turn leads to different teacher behaviors. In their study, contrasting patterns were observed in the way teachers interacted with students toward whom they felt attachment, concern, indifference, or rejection. Although no gross favoritism was evident, these teachers provided more subtle support for those students towards whom they felt the most attachment.

Researchers have discovered two types of teacher expectation effects: the self-fulfilling prophecy effect and the sustaining expectation effect (Cooper & Good, 1983). The self-fulfilling prophecy effect occurs when a teacher's expectations lead the teacher to behave in a manner which in fact causes the expectations to come true. The sustaining expectation effect, however, can be described as the teachers' perception of their students based on patterns they perceived in past students. In sustaining effect instances,

teachers do not see change and improvements that have taken place.

Self-fulfilling prophecy effects are stronger than sustaining expectation effects because they present a change in student behavior. Saracho (1991) states that self-fulfilling prophecy effects may be powerful and dramatic when they take place; however, the more subtle sustaining expectation effects take place more often.

Experiments by researchers have shown that the expectations teachers hold for their students can be affected by external information such as:

1. information given to teachers about student performance on tests
2. students' performance of assignments as observed by teachers
3. students' speech or language patterns
4. gender of students
5. race of students
6. students' classroom behavior
7. students' socioeconomic status
8. students' physical appearance
9. special education labels placed on students
10. ethnicity of students
11. group placement of students. (Good, 1987; Greene, 1990; Haller, 1985)

Research has continued since the initial study by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968). The findings lead to a

consensus that teachers' expectations can and do sometimes affect teacher-student interaction and student outcomes. Therefore, there is strong support for the idea that teachers' expectations affect students' education in the elementary school classroom.

The formation of teacher expectations for bilingual students is made more complex because of the issues of language and culture. An understanding of the effects of teacher expectations is important because this study investigates the role of teachers' expectations in the instruction of bilingual students.

Hispanic Students

The achievement disadvantages of Hispanic students have been well documented. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) data show that 36% of 9-year-olds and 20% of 13-year-olds in American schools are reading below expected levels (Kennedy, Jung, & Orland, 1986). The reading and writing scores of Hispanic students are considerably lower than those of white students in grades 3, 7, and 11 (Beaton, 1986). Furthermore, minority students are 1.5 times more likely to drop out of school than native English speakers (Cardenas, Robledo, & Waggoner, 1988). However, this lack of academic achievement may not be caused solely by the language diversity. Trueba (1989) believed that academic achievement is linked to successful integration into the dominant society. The minority student has to learn a new language, acquire new cultural values, and compete with native students

who already possess the linguistic, social, and cultural knowledge that the minority student must acquire.

In order to accomplish this, the students must have specific sociolinguistic and cultural knowledge (Trueba, 1989). Without this knowledge, the students are unable to fully access the academic knowledge that is being presented to them in schools. Trueba (1989) studied Hispanic, Laotian, Hmong, Vietnamese, and Sudanese students and concluded that cultural conflict was a major factor in their lack of school achievement. These minority students were excluded from instruction in two ways. First, they lacked the knowledge that is needed to participate in classroom discourse and second, teachers often reduced the time minority students participated in instructional discourse because the students' speech did not match the teachers' expectations (McCollum, 1991).

These cultural differences exist in both cognition and interaction. Trueba (1989) demonstrated this difference in view of the competitive nature found in public schools.

> Teachers considered that competition would increase student motivation to participate in learning activities. Many minority children come from home cultures in which socialization efforts are oriented toward working cooperatively and performing inconspicuously. These children find it very difficult to enter a culture of competition. Looking at the home and family

> settings of the students, we may find genuine insights into so-called "school problems." The information discovered in the home is crucial in helping teachers and children to cooperate in the communicative process of teaching and learning during the complex years of linguistic and cultural transition. (p. 37-38)

While the above quote from Trueba sheds some light on the communicative process of teaching and learning, it says nothing about the broader social and educational context of Hispanic students' education. Hispanic students, including the students in this study, are primarily working class children. Many sociologists have reported on the social stratification of schooling and the consequences of that stratification for working class students (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Giroux, 1983). Studies by Anyon (1980, 1981), Wilcox (1982), and Willis (1977) have provided support for the thesis that the social class of students influences the nature of schooling for those students.

Other research has concentrated on how these characteristics of working class schooling are more evident in the schooling of Hispanic students. Díaz, Moll, and Mehan (1986), for example, discovered that there is an additional tendency to simplify and reduce the curriculum even further for Hispanic students in an attempt to match limited English

speakers' level of English proficiency. This reductionism relegates Hispanic students to low level academic work.

The question of how Hispanic culture affects the students' level of participation in the classroom has not yet been addressed. Hispanic culture has been characterized by a strong emphasis on respect for adults and social conventions, and strong expectations that adults should give young people close guidance (Ramirez & Castañeda, 1974). If the difference in the verbal interaction patterns found in mainstream and Hispanic classrooms is indeed a result of cultural values, it may provide an important clue for understanding "cultural responsiveness" as it applies to Hispanic students. It is logical to assume that the behaviors exhibited by the teachers are the behaviors they find most comfortable. If, as this study describes, Hispanic teachers depend more heavily on structuring with their Hispanic students and if Hispanic students are less aggressive in that they structure, solicit and react less than their Anglo counterparts, it may have important implications for how Hispanic students acquire the school's culture.

Since intellect develops within the atmosphere of an individual's culture, learning and culture are inextricably linked. Escovar and Lazarus (1980) pointed out that Hispanic childrearing patterns differ from Anglo-American patterns where parents expect more independence at earlier ages. In fact, the school's structure is largely based on a sequence

of classroom tasks that must be completed independently. For Hispanic students, it may be difficult to achieve within a classroom structure which assumes student initiative. Assignments requiring total individual action may be difficult for students who are accustomed to frequent adult intervention.

Kelly (1979) identifies some of the specific conflicts:

> The conflict in values experienced by Hispanic students has strong impact on their behavior, and consequently on their learning. This must be recognized by educators in order to avoid unsubstantiated conclusions as to the students' intelligence and learning ability. If education is to be relevant to Hispanic children, their learning styles must be recognized, and both environment and methodology shaped to correspond to their preferred mode of learning. This does not negate the importance of exposing them to different learning styles, but their own should not be denied. (p. 36)

It is this emphasis on the ways in which students learn that may hold the solution to the mystery of minority students' difficulties in American schools. Jordan and Tharp (1979) stated:

> As a further complexity, one can view the problems of minority students as due to differences in the organization of cognitive

> operations; that is, pupils may fail to learn because their cognitive operations, though adequate, are organized in systems which do not mesh well with the way the school presents information. (p. 46)

The impact of culture on Hispanic students has been supported by research done by Ramirez and Castañeda (1974). They concluded that:

> ...from an educational perspective, one of the key assumptions is that the sociocultural system of the child's home and community is influential in producing unique preferred modes of communication, human relations, motivation, and learning. (p.73)

When language minority students enter schools, the traditional reaction is to change the student. However, changing students to conform to the classroom is perhaps:

> ...the most damaging way to make life in the classroom continuous with life in the community. But there have been equally disastrous attempts to redesign the structure of the classroom to conform to the life style of the community. (Mehan, 1991; p. 45)

Research has provided evidence of a third alternative. Programs such as the Kamehameha Early Education Program (Au & Jordan, 1981) and the communication styles of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation as described by Philips (1983)

point to learning environments which engage students' competencies and preferences while still meeting academic goals.

Many studies have highlighted the success of educational programs that match instructional styles to students' needs. A study by Macias (1987) described the problems experienced by Papago children as they entered preschool. Their school experiences emphasized individual verbal performance in front of an audience, teacher-controlled activities, and unfamiliar foods and games. The preschool teachers lessened these difficulties by making the school experience more culturally sensitive to the students.

Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) investigated Native Hawaiian students' success in schools. They discovered that many Native Hawaiian families follow practices of sibling caretaking. Such a system leads naturally to a similar caretaking atmosphere in the classroom. However, teachers often follow the traditional practice of having students work individually. This mismatch was overcome when teachers provided opportunities for students to work together.

Similarly, Philips' (1972) work with Native American students focused on the students' level of classroom participation. She found that the poor school performance of Warm Spring Indian children could be specifically linked to classroom contexts that demanded individualized performance, emphasized peer competition, and required that the teacher maintain control of performance styles and publicly display

the incompetence of students by making corrections. In contrast, the Indian children were more likely to display competence in classroom contexts that were similar in organization to local patterns of communication. In their community, the group was emphasized rather than the individual and cooperation rather than competition was valued. When the Indian children were involved in group projects in school, they learned more and performed academic tasks more successfully. Philips concluded that the students' reluctance to speak in certain classroom situations was tied to the participation structures in the community. She discovered that in community events, people worked together as a whole. In contrast, the classroom teachers set themselves apart from the students by being the sole directors of activities. In brief, Philips demonstrated that students were more willing to speak when the classroom situations mirrored the community standards.

This work highlights the point that students' school achievement is directly influenced by values learned at home. It also demonstrated that the messages being communicated in the classrooms were a result of complex processes of interaction among teachers, students, and their perceptions of reality (Gumperz, 1981).

Delgado-Gaitán (1987) proposed a similar relationship between home and school cultural discontinuity and academic performance. She identified patterns of learning environments found in Mexican American homes that differed

from those found in schools. At home, the Mexican American children were engaged in tasks that were organized so that the children worked cooperatively among themselves while adults acted as nonparticipatory guides. Delgado-Gaitán compared the home learning environment to the school learning environment and concluded that the discontinuities between home and school can result in miscommunication between teachers and children. Therefore, children may fail in school because the social conditions required for participation are not those they have become accustomed to in their communities.

A change in classroom discourse styles has also been shown to be effective. Barnhardt's (1982) experimental study with Athabaskan Indians showed that students who received instruction in a manner that more closely matched their cultural mode of learning, achieved at higher levels than those who did not.

Likewise, researchers of the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program (KEEP) in Hawaii have shown that positive changes in school performance can take place when learning environments are modified to accommodate the diverse cultures within a classroom. The "talk story", described by Au (1985), is a method in which each student was encouraged to tell part of a story. Other students then added on to the story. This structure allowed the teachers to build upon the natural discourse styles of their students. Therefore, cultural interactional patterns that were endemic of the students'

home settings were emphasized and students' achievement was increased (Au, 1993; Eisenhart & Cutts-Dougherty, 1991; McCollum, 1991; Rueda, 1991; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988;).

Studies on cross-cultural schemata have demonstrated the importance of cultural variables in the reading process. If readers are unaware of the cultural content of a text, their comprehension of the text can be adversely affected. Students who read texts that are not culturally familiar often read slower, miscomprehend, have more irrelevant intrusions, and make fewer elaborations than those who read culturally familiar texts. Teachers must consider cultural variation in background knowledge because it influences reading performance (Barnitz, in press; Steffensen, 1987).

Barnitz (1986) recommended instructional practices which bridge the "cultural knowledge gap" (p. 110) between the reader and the text. Such practices would provide the necessary cultural information to students of minority cultures so that they could more fully comprehend a text.

Most modifications of classroom activity involve some grouping structures which allow increased participation and cooperation among the learners and the teacher. This has to do with both school culture and with general principles of learning. The language and school culture which Anglo students have built, provide access for them to construct academic knowledge from traditional pedagogic procedures because their home culture also focuses on individual performance and competitiveness.

Classroom Discourse

Embedded within the culture of the school and the culture of the classroom, are the discourse patterns between the teacher and the students. Classroom discourse presents a challenge to students to learn new rules for communication. The use of formal language, teacher leadership and control, and, question-and-answer formats characterize the classroom environment. If these new rules match those that the students have already learned, classroom communication is made easier. But students whose past language experience is incongruent with the classroom experience have to learn the new language before they can use the language to learn.

> When teachers and students come from different cultures and use different languages and dialects, the teachers may be unaware of the variations between their own understanding of a context and that of their students, between their own expectations for behavior in particular contexts and the inclinations of the children they teach. When children and adults do not share common experiences and do not hold common beliefs about the meaning of experiences, the adults are less able to help children encode their thoughts in language. (Bowman, 1989, p.119)

Differences between features of classroom discourse and of home language discourse can affect the minority students' learning.

> Classroom discourse becomes critical to learning and for displaying abilities when performance is interpreted using a theory of multiple literacies. Two of the three requisite components of learning-task environments, words (symbols) and the social relationship that surrounds the performance of a task, are expressed in the discourse and discourse rules governing the interaction. (McCollum, 1991; p. 111)

Tharp and Gallimore (1988) called for a change in classroom discourse. They recommended a discourse style that incorporates authentic conversations between teachers and students. These "instructional conversations" would be structured so that teachers and students could learn from each other in a reciprocal fashion. By providing students with opportunities to engage in instructional conversations that promote analysis, reflection, and critical thinking, minority students would have a greater opportunity to participate in the school culture than they now do in a curriculum that is skewed toward skills and knowledge acquisition (Goldenberg, 1991). This type of authentic discourse supports literacy development (Au, 1993; Barnitz, in press). Students use the social and situational contexts to access verbal cues and construct meaning.

It has been argued that reciprocal interaction between teachers and students offers a more promising alternative. (Cummins, 1984; Wells, 1986). The "interactive/experiential"

model suggested by Freire (1970), Lindfors (1989) and Wells (1986) holds that talking and writing are means to learning. Its major characteristics are:

1. Genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities

2. Guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher

3. Encouragement of student-student talk in a collaborative learning context

4. A focus on developing higher level cognitive skills rather than factual recall

5. Task presentation that generates intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation (Cummins, 1989).

In short, "...pedagogical approaches that empower students encourage them to assume greater control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborate actively with each other in achieving these goals" (Cummins, 1989, p. 57).

Recommendations for Instruction

What types of specific instructional strategies can teachers employ that will assist minority students in their acquisition of the dominant culture? Trueba (1989) pointed out that linguistic, social, cultural, and cognitive skills are critical in the students' process of acquiring the new culture. Consequently, students' participation in communicative activities about the subject matter and the culture itself must be given priority. Implied within this

recommendation is the teachers' obligation to search for methods that will actively involve the students in creating and understanding information that is culturally meaningful.

> The teaching of reading and writing must be grounded in the cultural and social context of students, their relevant cultural experiences, and their stage of social integration and acculturation, rather than by assuming a universal effectiveness of either the instructional content or method. (Trueba, 1989; p. 127)

Trueba (1989) suggested that teachers' knowledge of the students' home learning environment is one of the most important pieces of information that they will need to teach minority students. Likewise, Cook-Gumperz (1986) described literacy as a "socially constructed phenomenon." Since reading and writing are conditioned by experiences and skills that are usually obtained in the home, teachers' knowledge of the home culture and of the learning modes that accompany that culture is vital.

One way to include language minority students' culture with that of the schools is for teachers to find and build upon the students' strengths. To look at strengths is a philosophical choice. Despite the move away from a deficit perspective, changes in attitudes and programs have not occurred across the board. From a deficit perspective, language minority students are seen to be lacking the skills that they need to achieve and they are blamed for their

"failure" (Miramontes & Commins, 1991). Instruction that builds on the strengths of students with diverse backgrounds helps all students acquire the literacy levels that are required for full participation in the dominant society because within the classroom, students with diverse backgrounds interact with each other and learn different ways in which information can be interpreted (Hiebert, 1991).

Kutz and Roskelly (1991) saw a similar advantage for language majority and language minority students.

> ...learning for all is enhanced when students use rather than bury their backgrounds, when a variety of perspectives contribute to the development of one. This multicultural classroom will help all students to achieve the kind of higher literacy that society now demands and it can help to create a different and more effective relationship among the cultures of the home, of the school, and of the larger society...we see a possibility for change and growth as individuals come to know more about themselves and others in the cultural settings that shape their experiences. (p. 10)

What type of cultural knowledge do teachers need? Because culture is largely a matter of implicit knowledge, teachers need to do much more than take college courses that describe the diverse cultures that students represent. The "Proposed Approach to Implement Bilingual Programs" prepared

by the National Puerto Rican Development and Training Institute (1973) stated that accepting the importance of ethnic foods, festivals, and histories gives only a limited interpretation of the concept of culture.

> What seems to be forgotten is that culture is acquired by direct, frequent, varied participation and experience in all aspects of the life of a group of people. A very large part of this acquisition occurs outside of the learner's awareness. It follows that culture in this deep sense cannot be taught in culture classes. Culture can only be ...transmitted if special efforts are made to incorporate into the school, its curriculum, its staff and activities as many aspects as possible of the life of the cultural group to which the learner belongs. (p.30)

Trueba (1989) illustrated the need for teachers to become more culturally aware. He noted that education is synonymous with cultural reproduction. Therefore, teachers cannot understand another group's culture until they understand their own. Towards that end, he recommended a process known as "reflective cultural analysis." The purpose of this analysis is not to change the teachers or the students, but rather to help them to understand the cultural diversity.

> If the teacher misunderstands the child's home environment, the teacher cannot assist this child in the acquisition of missing instrumental competencies. The nature of cultural conflict and of the means necessary to resolve it requires reflective cultural analysis. The solution may indeed require some change in both the minority child and school personnel. (p. 45)

Once the social and cultural organization of a classroom is determined, teachers must see school activities not only as necessary for obtaining subject matter knowledge but also as instruments for developing cognitive skills. It becomes essential, therefore, for teachers to view instruction as a process in which language minority students must be able to participate actively and meaningfully (Trueba, 1989).

Perhaps a developmentally appropriate curriculum can never be standardized in a multicultural community. However, thoughtful teachers can use child development principles to make the new context of school meaningful, to attach new kinds of learning to what students have already achieved, and to safeguard students' growing self-image and self-confidence as their knowledge and skills expand.

The majority of researchers in the field of multicultural education propose a curriculum and instructional strategies that are more responsive to the culturally diverse students that now populate our public

schools. Mehan (1979) recognized that there is a "discontinuity between ways of speaking at home or on the street and ways of acting in the school" (p. 196-197). Rather than demanding that students conform to the existing classroom organization, he recommended that the classrooms be changed to accommodate the student. This change would call for a pluralistic approach to instruction which would include a flexible classroom organization. He concluded, "Instead of demanding that students leave their culture ... in the clothes closet with their jackets and hats, it is possible for teachers to utilize the ideas, activities, and talk that excite students as a way of organizing curriculum" (p. 196-197).

It is extremely difficult for educators to see the school culture. Kutz and Roskelly (1991) believed that "school ways are generally invisible to most of us who have spent much time...in the school culture" (p. 15). They recommended that teachers strive to understand the cultural environment that they promote.

> With this understanding, teachers can help students ease their way into the school environment, connect what they know from the world outside the classroom to what they find within it, and bring their various ways of knowing into the classroom and enrich the classroom world. (p. 15)

At least two studies suggested that there may indeed be positive educational outcomes for Hispanics based on teacher ethnicity and the methodology that is employed. Garcia and Zimmerman (1972) suggested that students performed significantly better when the examiner was of the same ethnic background and spoke the same language. Bernal (1971) found that Mexican-American students performed significantly better on tasks when a facilitation method was employed.

Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) developed the idea of "cultural democracy." This is a:

> ...philosophical precept which recognizes that the way a person communicates, relates to others, seeks support and recognition from his environment, and thinks and learns is a product of the value system of his home and community. Cultural democracy states that an individual can be bicultural and still be loyal to American ideals. (p. 23)

The philosophy of cultural democracy asserts that students can remain identified with their home values while they acquire the value system of the mainstream American middle class. From an educational perspective, one of the key assumptions of cultural democracy is that the sociocultural system of the child's home influences modes of communication, human relations, motivation, and learning. Ramirez and Castañeda (1974) recommended that all of these

characteristics be considered in forming the basis for developing culturally democratic educational environments.

Language minority students have much more to master than just English. They must also master the school culture. The acquisition of a second culture and a second language are interdependent. Therefore, in order to acquire the second language, the student must also acquire the second culture (Trueba, 1989).

> While attempting to acquire English as their new language, these minority children realize that they are not dealing with changes in sound units, syntactic forms, or the meanings of words and sentences. They discover that they are dealing with an entirely different world conception, which classifies behavioral phenomena and expresses emotions in different ways. (Trueba, 1987, p. 3)

What, then, can the school and the teachers do to make the curriculum more accessible for the minority student? Awareness of the authenticity of sociolinguistic diversity is one key element. If students are allowed to construct meaning through the use of their natural communication styles in authentic literacy events, literacy acquisition would be facilitated (Au, 1993; Barnitz, in press; Heath, 1983).

Heath (1983) developed lessons that incorporated questioning strategies that were more congruent with the students' ways of speaking and understanding. The teachers

asked students for personal experiences and analogic responses that were more like the questions that the parents asked at home. Thus, the community became a resource for transforming the classroom experience for the children. The students were also taught the language of school so that they were able to perform academic tasks that required them to name objects, provide descriptions out of context, and perform similar school activities.

San Miguel (1991) urged teachers of writing to cultivate the students' own expression of diverse or alien ideas, not just accept these diversities. He stressed that educators cannot expect young Hispanic students to initiate an open creative exploration of themselves without an atmosphere of complete acceptance.

Gonzalez (1990) argued that the educational system is fundamentally incapable of serving the fastest growing school-age population--the culturally diverse:

> If the educational process is to address itself to the whole person, motivating factors of behavior, learning styles, and interpersonal relations must be considered. The conflict in values experienced by Hispanic students who enter a classroom in the United States has a strong impact on their behavior, learning, and self-esteem. (p. 223)

Gonzalez (1990) suggested that teacher training programs should include a segment on culture which is not

limited to a study of the history and traditions of the Hispanics, but also includes a focus on their values which are the motivating factors of behavior. "An understanding of the Hispanics' unique perception of the supernatural, of themselves, and of others will contribute to an appreciation of their culture and a willingness to adapt educational processes to relate to their values" (p. 62).

Garcia (1991) has documented some effective instructional practices for minority students. These practices included the following common attributes:

1. Functional communication between teacher and students and among fellow students was emphasized.
2. The instruction of basic skills and academic content was consistently organized around thematic units.
3. Instruction was organized in such a way that students were required to interact with each other utilizing collaborative learning techniques.
4. Students progressed systematically from writing in the native language to writing in English, making the transition without any pressure from the teacher to do so.
5. Teachers were highly committed to the educational success of their students and served as student advocates.
6. Principals were highly supportive of their instructional staff and supported teacher autonomy while maintaining an awareness of the need to

conform to district policies on curriculum and academic accountability.

7. Both Anglo and non-Anglo parents were involved in the formal parent support activities of the schools and expressed a high level of satisfaction with and appreciation for their children's educational experience in the schools (p. 1).

Likewise, Kutz and Roskelly (1991) have compiled a list of strategies that help students to become part of the mainstream of school culture. They recommended that teachers "build on the students' prior knowledge," "allow other ways of knowing into the classroom," "make room for lots of talk in the classroom," and, include literature written by minority authors in the classroom texts.

Curriculum with multicultural education is essential to equal educational outcomes. Theel (1990) suggested the following recommendations for the elementary school level: 1. every curriculum area should be taught with a multicultural perspective; 2. field trips should be organized to expose students to culturally diverse experiences; 3. assemblies should be organized around multicultural themes; 4. multicultural classroom materials should be designed focusing on cognitive and affective domains; 5. cooperative learning should be used; 6. literature should represent multicultural perspectives and experiences; and 7. self-directed free play and structured games should be encouraged.

Conclusions and Implications

If the purpose of a multicultural program is to respond to educational needs of minority students, then it would seem clear that motivation of the learner must be considered as integral to the success of the program. Given their long tradition and history, it is improbable that our public schools or our dominant society will change drastically. Therefore, minority students will have to continue to acquire the culture of the dominant society rather than the dominant society embracing the values of the diverse cultures. It is incumbent upon educators to teach students how to thrive in their new culture. Students can learn to be bicultural. Teachers can act as cultural mediators (Banks, 1988) by helping students of diverse backgrounds to develop the proficiency in academic and interpersonal skills that is required for success in schools (Au, 1993). In our dominant society, students have to pass tests, conform to authority, and adopt a work ethic. To ignore the dominant culture or to assume that the public schools will surrender their role as transmitters of that dominant culture is probably unrealistic. The language minority students must be encouraged to acquire their second culture in many of the same ways that they are encouraged to acquire their second language; namely, through authentic communicative activities that incorporate the minority students' cognitive styles.

One idea that has not been explored adequately in the literature, is the ESL teacher's responsibility to encourage

biculturalism in the linguistically diverse students. While there are many ideas about encouraging second language acquisition through authentic language situations (Barnitz, in press; Edelsky, 1986), there are noticeably fewer ideas about encouraging second culture acquisition. In the same way that ESL teachers strive to help their students become bilingual, they can also help their students become bicultural.

Summary

In this review of the literature, a case was made that schools replicate and transmit the dominant culture through the teachers and their classrooms. It was also argued that bilingual Hispanic students may not be able to access such information because of cultural differences or ineffective classroom discourse. The effect of teachers' expectations was also discussed and a review of the recommendations for instruction of language minority students was included.

The next chapter provides a general description of the research design and of the schools and teachers which were recruited for the study. The specific analytic questions, data collection techniques, and data analysis strategies are also discussed.

CHAPTER III

Introduction

During my 16 years as an elementary bilingual/ESL teacher, I have seen many students who have met the stringent requirements for exiting the ESL program and were moved into the mainstream classrooms. Many times, these students experienced academic difficulties in the mainstream classes. Even though they were consistently demonstrating English literacy proficiencies in the ESL classroom, their non-ESL teachers reported that the students were making low grades because they "just weren't trying." Possible explanations for the problem were: 1. that the students' English proficiency had been misjudged; 2. the students had an incompetent classroom teacher; 3. a cultural difference existed between the teacher and student which blocked the students' participation; 4. the curriculum was inappropriate; 5. the assessment procedures were inappropriate; or, 6. the students really weren't trying. However, these explanations did not provide satisfactory answers because the students did indeed demonstrate English proficiency, and, the problem occurred in the classrooms of many different teachers. The answer, therefore, appeared to be something much less obvious. It was the quest for this answer that led ultimately to this research study.

Research Design

One goal of this inquiry was to discover the participants' views of reality--the emic view. Emic refers to "culturally based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by members of the group under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide their own behavior" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 580). Therefore, a basic assumption of this study was that it is indeed possible to see and understand the participants' views of realities (Johnson, 1992) and that this can be best accomplished by learning the perspectives of actors in the setting. Towards that end, I have provided a description and an interpretive account of what the teachers who participated in this study do in their classrooms and the way they perceive what they are doing. I observed the interactions between teachers and students and noted differences between the monolingual and bilingual teachers' interactions with their students.

In order to provide a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the classroom culture, I observed two monolingual nonHispanic teachers and two bilingual Hispanic teachers in two elementary schools. All of the participants of this study will be referred to through the use of pseudonyms. Mrs. Ortiz and Mrs. Vasquez spoke Spanish as their first language whereas Mrs. Daniels and Mrs. Peters were monolingual English speakers. These particular teachers were chosen because my own personal interactions and my daily access to them had led

me to conclude that they were effective teachers. Furthermore, each of these teachers had received outstanding evaluations from their immediate supervisors.

Classroom observations were done at both the primary and intermediate levels with the teachers being matched by school and grade. For example, Mrs. Peters and Mrs. Ortiz were both teachers in the primary grades at School A. Likewise, Mrs. Vasquez and Mrs. Daniels were both teachers in the intermediate grades at School B. These pairings were made in order to compare and contrast teachers in similar situations.

Because educators have long recognized that teacher behaviors are one of the most critical factors related to student learning (Cervantes, 1976) and since students and teachers spend the main part of their school day in the classroom, the classroom was the most logical place to explore the needs of culturally different communities. Teachers who share the same culture as their students may have the highest probability of understanding and responding to the students (Cardenas, 1974). Therefore, descriptions of classrooms in which the teacher and minority students are culturally matched can potentially provide data that documents if and how the verbal behavior patterns differ from those of the majority culture and provide clues as to more effective approaches for meeting the specific educational needs of minority students. Furthermore, descriptions of classrooms in which the teacher and students are culturally mismatched can potentially provide comparative data.

To accomplish the previously stated goal of providing a descriptive and interpretive account of teachers' behavior in the classroom, I observed teachers' actions and examined the "social rules, interactional expectations, and cultural values" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 577) that underlie those actions. Unlike positivist research in which the researchers manipulate conditions, qualitative research studies events in their natural state. The researchers themselves are the major data collection instruments and they develop and refine their research questions from what they learn in the field. However, this does not imply that I entered the field without a guiding theory. The review of the relevant literature in the preceding chapter helped me to decide what kinds of evidence were likely to be significant (Johnson, 1992).

Issues from Previous Research

Current theoretical models of minority education have not sufficiently emphasized the relationship between language, culture, and, cognition. The two main theoretical approaches to minority students' achievement are what Trueba (1987) labels the "cultural-ecological approach," and, the "context-specific approach."

The "cultural-ecological approach" basically focuses on the historical, cultural, and sociological factors that affect school achievement in minority populations. The main drawback of this approach is that it does not address the question of whether current behavior can be the result of historical experiences that are far removed from the

experiences of contemporary minority groups. Perhaps the strongest argument against this approach is the abundant evidence of academic achievement among minority students who have received well-planned and culturally sensitive educational experiences.

The "context-specific approach" recognizes the impact of sociological and economic factors, and attempts to explain why individual differences among minority group members exist. The "context-specific approach" utilizes interactional analysis to provide information about the shared system of meanings that exists in a culture.

The "context-specific approach" views knowledge acquisition in both its cultural and social context. As such, learning is stimulated by systems of cultural meaning. The theory implies, then, that it is these systems that empower minority students to achieve in school (Trueba, 1987).

What these theories lack, however, is an understanding of how minority students can achieve in the existing school system. The "cultural-ecological approach" views the problem historically. The "context-specific approach" views the problem from the vantage point of the individual. Neither theory tells educators what they need to know about encouraging minority students' achievement in schools.

Berliner (1990) wrote about just such a situation. When the teacher of fourth graders in an ESL program viewed videotapes of her students in the regular classroom, she was

surprised to see them working at such low levels. In the regular classroom, the students were working on word sounds, decoding skills, grammar, and recall exercises. But, in the ESL classroom, the students were doing comprehension exercises such as making inferences and predicting outcomes, as well as independent writing.

Berliner concluded that students often show one behavior in one class and another behavior in a different class. This switch happens because the teachers and students create the context. As in the "context-specific approach," context here refers not only to the physical surroundings, but also to the interactions between the teachers and students within the class.

Programs for Spanish Speaking Students

Teachers may assume that the student who does not speak English, or who is very "limited" in English proficiency, will have more difficulty in the academic tasks of the classroom than the student who is a native speaker. It was on this assumption that bilingual education programs were established in the 1970's.

The position of bilingual education proponents has been that while students are developing English skills, they can also develop other academic skills if they receive instruction in their native language (Gonzalez, 1977). Additionally, the argument can be made that once English

language skills are developed, students can transfer their knowledge of concepts into their second language, English (Cummins, 1980).

In reality, there is a shortage of trained bilingual teachers to provide them with such instruction. Furthermore, school districts which implement an ESL component for language minority students rather than a bilingual program, offer a limited amount of instruction from the ESL teacher. This means that the language minority students are receiving at least 50% of their instruction from a monolingual English speaking teacher. Often these teachers have had no preparation in teaching students whose first language is not English. In such a situation, teacher expectations are often formed on the basis of some false assumptions about the bilingual student's language ability as well as cultural background (Olmedo, 1992)

The schools involved in this study were staffed with an ESL teacher who taught the language minority students no more than 50% of the day. Students entered the ESL classroom for instruction in English literacy skills and spent the remainder of the school day in the regular classroom. The ESL teachers were bilingual but never provided Spanish literacy instruction.

Setting and Informants

Four teachers were selected for this study. Since I had previously worked in the two schools involved in this study, I was professionally acquainted with the teachers and knew

them to be experienced and capable educators. In order to protect their anonymity, the informants in this study will be referred to through pseudonyms. Table 1 details the teachers' years of experience, grade assignment, and language background. For the bilingual teachers, the language they learned first is listed first.

The teachers selected for this study had several Hispanic students in their classrooms. Table 2 illustrates the number of Spanish speaking students in each class, the number of years of ESL instruction the students had received, and, the number of years that the students had attended the regular classroom for 100% of the day.

Table 1

Participants of the Study

Background	Years of experience	Grade taught	Languages Spoken
Mrs. Ortiz	3	1st	Spanish/English
Mrs. Vasquez	8	4th	Spanish/English
Mrs. Daniels	22	5th	English
Mrs. Peters	6	1st	English

Table 2

Spanish Speaking Students

	GRADE	NUMBER OF SPANISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS	YEARS OF ESL INSTRUCTION	YEARS IN REGULAR CLASSES
Mrs. Ortiz	1	12	1	1-2
Mrs. Vasquez	4	9	1-2	1
Mrs. Daniels	5	7	1-4	1-3
Mrs. Peters	1	5	1	1

The teachers at School A were Mrs. Peters and Mrs. Ortiz. Mrs. Peters, a first grade teacher had been teaching for 6 years. She was a monolingual English speaker of European descent. Her class consisted of 18 students--47% African American, 25% European American, and 28% Hispanic.

Mrs. Ortiz was also a first grade teacher. She had been teaching for 3 years. She was a bilingual speaker of Mexican descent. Her class consisted of 21 students--30% African American, 13% European American, and 57% Hispanic.

The teachers at School B were Mrs. Daniels and Mrs. Vasquez. Mrs. Daniels was a monolingual English speaker of European descent. She had 22 years of experience as a teacher. Her fifth grade class consisted of 20 students--25% African American, 40% European American, and 35% Hispanic.

Mrs. Vasquez taught a fourth grade class. She had been teaching for 8 years. She was a bilingual speaker of Puerto Rican descent. Her class consisted of 19 students--20% African American, 33% European American, and 47% Hispanic.

Table 3 illustrates the teachers' background and the ethnic make up of their classes.

Table 3

Teachers' Background and Students' Ethnicity

Teacher	Grade Taught	Years of Experience	Students' Ethnicity
School A			
Mrs. Peters	1	6	18% African American
			25% European American
			28% Hispanic
Mrs. Ortiz	1	3	30% African American
			13% European American
			57% Hispanic
School B			
Mrs. Daniels	5	22	25% African American
			40% European American
			35% Hispanic
Mrs. Vasquez	4	8	20% African American
			33% European American
			47% Hispanic

Research Methods

The use of qualitative research methods is fairly recent in the field of language minority students. Previous studies have relied on quantitative data to form conclusions about the achievement of such students. As mentioned previously, this study is seen as a naturalistic inquiry and as such, describes the classroom setting from the insider's point of view by using qualitative methodology.

This change from quantitative research methods to qualitative research methods brings up some questions about the validity and reliability of qualitative research. For the remainder of this section, I will address those concerns.

Validity is defined by quantitative researchers as the best approximation of the truth or falsity of a statement (Cook & Campbell, 1979). The purpose of a quantitative research design is to control or randomize factors which may affect the outcome of the study. Therefore, a relationship is hypothesized and then tested against reality.

In qualitative research, reality is seen as "a multiple set of mental constructions" (Davis, 1992). Therefore, researchers must demonstrate that their descriptions are credible. To enhance credibility, qualitative researchers involve themselves with the subject or subjects being studied. They invest a sufficient amount of time to build trust with the subjects, learn the culture, and test for misinformation. By investigating the multiple influences

affecting a study, qualitative researchers focus on the same factors that quantitative researchers attempt to control (Davis, 1992).

Furthermore, in qualitative research, rather than assuring reliability, the researcher ensures that findings are dependable. This is done by employing triangulation. Triangulation may involve the use of many different subjects, different sources for the same information, or different research methods such as interviews, observations, or questionnaires.

Research Strategies

I observed monolingual nonHispanic teachers and bilingual Hispanic teachers in two elementary schools in a suburban school district in the southeastern part of the United States. I chose to focus on Hispanic teachers and Hispanic students, because my proficiency in Spanish allowed for full understanding of any first language communication between them. These schools were selected because they both have a high percentage of Hispanic students, most of whom have been exited from the ESL program, and because the socioeconomic level of the schools was similar. An added benefit to conducting research in these two sites was that I have worked as a teacher in both of the schools. Since I was familiar with the school policies and the personnel at those schools, access to school records and teachers was facilitated. The teachers who were selected to participate in this study are known to be successful with students in

general. This precludes the possibility that Hispanic students are experiencing academic difficulties because of the teacher's lesser ability.

Classroom observations were done at both the primary and intermediate levels and the monolingual nonHispanic and bilingual Hispanic teachers were matched by school and grade. For example, one monolingual teacher in the primary grades at School A was matched with one bilingual teacher in the primary grades at School A. Likewise, one monolingual teacher in the intermediate grades at School B was matched with one bilingual teacher in the intermediate grades at School B.

School A	**School A**
Monolingual Teacher	Bilingual Teacher
Primary Grades	Primary Grades
School B	**School B**
Monolingual Teacher	Bilingual Teacher
Intermediate Grades	Intermediate Grades

In this manner, a total of four teachers at two schools were observed. These pairings were made based on the fact that School A has a Hispanic teacher in the primary grades and School B has a Hispanic teacher in the intermediate grades. Furthermore, it was important to compare and contrast teachers in similar situations. School A has a majority population of African American students and School B

has a majority population of Anglo American students. Therefore, the possibility exists that School A and School B may have different teaching environments which would affect the interaction between the teachers and the students.

Five observations that lasted from 1 to 2 hours were made in each classroom. These observations were done over a 5 month period. The observations continued until data saturation was achieved. If more observations had been called for, I had acquired permission to return to the classroom for clarification.

Previous research studies did not allow for this many observations, but a naturalistic study requires copious observations and opportunities for clarification. I observed science and social studies classes because these are the only classes in which the teachers have a mixture of students who are learning at different levels. Furthermore, the content area subjects of science and social studies were chosen because they receive the least amount of support from the school district. While teachers are inserviced frequently on the newest approaches to teaching reading and math, science and social studies have been largely ignored. Therefore, the teachers had to rely on their own creativity and ingenuity in developing successful lessons. Since the curriculum for science and social studies in the elementary school is the least mandated, it opened the possibility that the teachers' personal instructional styles would be revealed.

During my observations, I adapted the following recommendations for classroom observation by Wallerstein (1983).

1. Watch teachers' and students' interaction--how they greet each other, say good-bye, show respect, touch each other, express pleasure, dismay, or other feelings.

2. Observe body language in teaching and learning--how teachers and students work, whether they sit rigidly or lean toward each other.

3. Observe students' and teachers' actions--what they reveal about priorities or problems.

4. Listen for informal conversations held during the break or before and after class.

Informal and formal interviews with the teachers were conducted following the observations. The purpose of these interviews was to ascertain the teachers' conceptions of their actions and their students' reactions.

Analytic Questions

In an attempt to guide the data collection, the following analytic questions were formed.

1. What are some of the similarities and differences between the instructional interactions with students of monolingual nonHispanic teachers and bilingual Hispanic teachers?

2. What are some of the similarities and differences in noninstructional interactions between monolingual nonHispanic teachers and bilingual Hispanic teachers?

3. What aspects of culture, language, and teacher expectations in the public school classroom are important for teacher development?

4. What are the implications of culture, language and teacher expectations in the public school classroom for teacher development?

Data Collection Techniques

Data collection was carried out based on the conceptual framework outlined previously--that is--that there may be a cultural mismatch between monolingual nonHispanic teachers and Hispanic students that impedes the students' full participation in schools. Furthermore, classroom observations and interviews provided the teachers' inside view of what was happening in their classrooms. "If observation is not guided by an explicit theoretical framework, it will be guided only by the observer's ...values, attitudes, and assumptions" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 578).

This study describes the culture of the classroom rather than defines a culture. This ethnographic description is interpretive by its nature and microscopic by its design. It is microscopic in that it looks specifically at only four teachers in two schools. Furthermore, the field notes and interview formats focused only on the interactions between teachers and students.

The study is interpretive in that it provides a description of the four classrooms from the point of view of

the teachers themselves and the researcher. These descriptions are then used to interpret the role that the dominant culture plays in the classrooms.

Whereas the microscopic design of this study examines the points of human interaction in schools, the data obtained from the study illustrate the role that the dominant culture plays in the classroom. In this respect, the study is macroscopic in that it examines the nature of the relationship between Hispanic students and schools in a larger, societal context. Walker (1987) described the necessity of such a design:

> Researchers exploring issues of social structure and social reproduction as it relates to minority student achievement are offering a larger frame on which to formulate our picture of Hispanic student achievement. They argue that the intricacies of student achievement can no longer be examined within the microcosm of the school. (p. 29)

Data Analysis Strategies

Analysis of the data provided a "thick description" of the culture of the classroom. Geertz (1973) cautioned that analyzing data was a task of "sorting out the structures of signification." I began with my own interpretations of what the students and teachers were doing, and then systematized those interpretations. I made multiple copies of the field

notes and interview transcripts and then analyzed the data to find common themes. Ultimately, I asked "not what their ontological status is...but what their import is" (Geertz, 1973, p.10).

Analysis is "recursive, grounded in data, and interpretive" (Johnson, 1992; p. 148). It is "recursive" in the sense that it continuously reflects the ongoing collection of data during field work. It is "grounded in data" in that it develops concepts that make sense and have relevance to the setting. Finally, the analysis is "interpretive" in that it interprets the meanings that actions have for the participants.

Triangulation--the compilation of information from different data sources--is an important strategy for arriving at dependable findings in qualitative studies. The value of triangulation is that it reduces observer bias and enhances validity and reliability of the information (Johnson, 1992). In this study, triangulation was accomplished through classroom observations, interviews with informants, and a review of other literature (Watson-Gegeo, 1988).

Although the complete results of the analysis will be included in chapter 4 it is important to note some of the findings from my initial analysis.

I did not discover a difference between the teachers' instructional methods. All of the teachers alternated between the initiation/response/evaluation pattern described by Cazden (1988), the instructional conversation pattern

described by Tharp and Gallimore (1991), or cooperative learning groups. Another commonality among the teachers was that they all exhibited excellent classroom management skills.

The most notable difference between the teachers was the bilingual teachers' use of Spanish during noninstructional interactions. The Hispanic teachers often used Spanish to exchange greetings or hold brief conversations with their Hispanic students. The monolingual teachers, of course, did not have this option. The impact of the native language exchanges will be described fully in chapter 5.

Researcher's Role Management

Human beings perceive their culture through the "filters and screens of their own world view and then act upon that perception, however 'biased' it may be" (Brown, 1986). Therefore, a certain amount of researcher bias is acknowledged. However, this bias was controlled for through copious data collection, careful data analysis, and triangulation. Detailed descriptions of data collection and analysis can be found in the next chapter.

Furthermore, the trustworthiness of this study was reinforced through an intense analysis and reanalysis of the data and the recursive nature of the study. The pattern of interview-observation-interview was repeated until data saturation occurred.

Summary

This chapter gave a more complete description of the research problem; that is, that many bilingual students are having academic difficulties in the regular classrooms; and, that these difficulties are not caused by a lack of English proficiency. Issues from previous research that pertain to the research design were also discussed.

The next chapter will report the findings from the observations and interviews. Initial conclusions based on the data collected will also be discussed.

Chapter IV

Introduction

A major component of this study is the theory of how schools replicate the dominant culture which creates them. Many researchers have looked at this phenomenon and some have found evidence in classrooms that supported this theory (Commins & Miramontes, 1989; Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt, 1989; Mehan, 1979; Trueba, Guthrie, & Au, 1981). The design of this study presupposed that comparing teachers that were members of the dominant culture with teachers who were members of a minority culture would highlight a difference in the classrooms. Since Hispanic teachers were members of a minority group, I expected their instructional and noninstructional interactions to differ from the nonHispanic teachers. The surprising finding of this study was that the Hispanic and nonHispanic teachers replicated the dominant culture in their classrooms in remarkably similar ways.

Teacher Profiles

Before I began classroom observations, I interviewed the teachers in order to ascertain their beliefs about the abilities of language minority students. Mrs. Peters responded that she saw no difference in the abilities of Hispanic and nonHispanic students, but that they did lack some comprehension:

> When they first come to school, the children don't speak. They learn how to listen to what you say. Then, after a while, they know what you mean by what you're saying. It seems like the Spanish children take longer to understand... not the words...but what I mean by the words. Rogelio is a transfer student. He was in another classroom and getting in a lot of trouble and his dad wanted him out. So, he came to me at the beginning of this 9 weeks. And he's just starting...I teach him math and it's a difficult subject to teach him because I say things and you can see that he doesn't have any concept of what I'm talking about. And I asked him one day, "Rogelio, do you all speak English or Spanish at your house?" And he said, "Spanish." I said, "Do you ever speak English at home?" "No." So the only time that he hears English is when he comes to school. So it's really hard for him. So I tried to back off. I was getting aggravated.

While undoubtedly well-intentioned, Mrs. Peters' inquiries about the absence of English in Rogelio's home communicated the message that Spanish does not receive the same status as English when it comes to school. The implication of such a message is that Rogelio and his family also do not receive the same status as English-speaking students and their families.

When asked about the Spanish speaking students in her class, Mrs. Daniels related a common generalization.

> There was a teacher in fifth grade here last year who was real standoffish. And, my students use to always tell me how much they didn't like her and that they were scared of her. You know, she was really a lovely, lovely person, but, she just didn't have the personality that clicked with these kids. And especially those Hispanic kids. Now, they are the ones that love all that touching stuff and she never touched anyone. That is one thing I've noticed about Hispanic kids more than any other minority group, is that they really respond well to touching. Like, Javier, if he's talking I could say a million times, "Javier, be quiet." or "Javier, stop talking so much," and nothing. But if I go over and put my hand on his head, he'll look up at me and he knows, and I don't have to say a word to him.

Mrs. Vasquez, a bilingual teacher, was very aware of her empathy for Spanish speaking students.

> Oh yeah...I can really relate to them. I know how it felt back then to be in a classroom and when I have children here that I see are kind of slow and all that, I think about myself when I was in there and I was one of them.

> I need to push these kids so that they'll turn out like I did.

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Vasquez believes that she relates so closely to the Spanish speaking students. She recognizes that she "was one of them" and that she wants them to "turn out like (she) did." The implication of this statement is that Mrs. Vasquez hopes that the Spanish speaking students in her class will successfully acculturate to the dominant American culture and will join the ranks of educated, middle class Americans. Mrs. Vasquez's goal is a clear reflection of her values.

Mrs. Ortiz was also sympathetic to the Hispanic students in her class. She related her own school experiences with those of her students.

> I learned quickly that I couldn't speak Spanish. The children quickly learn the rules and become used to it. But something does happen to you. Something happens. You're never part of that school. And yet I loved school and I loved my teachers, but there was something that I didn't belong.

Like Mrs. Vasquez, Mrs. Ortiz also speaks of the Hispanic students' need to acculturate. Although Mrs. Ortiz is not able to voice exactly what happened to her when she went through the public school system, she is aware that she became "used to it." She generalizes her experiences to those of her students.

These teachers' classrooms had many things in common, but the most striking commonality was the warmth and caring that each teacher demonstrated for her students. On many occasions, the teachers were observed gently touching students in order to gain their attention, offer encouragement or consolation, or demonstrate affection. Although the students in the primary grades often held the teacher's hand while walking in line, this was the only demonstrable difference between the primary and intermediate grades in regard to touching.

Although each teacher's personality strongly influenced the way in which the classroom was run, there was a sense of efficient classroom management and discipline in all of the classrooms. During interviews, the teachers detailed their purposeful and conscious actions to create the type of classroom that they described as "well ordered" and "efficient."

Mrs. Peters described her personal evolution as a teacher:

> I used to get all uptight with the kids and get in screaming matches with them...I knew the method that I was using...wasn't working. I was hollering louder than they were. It was in me to change but I didn't know how to change. My principal told me, "If you fuss at the children you don't get discipline, you get angry children." She gave me an

article to read from one of the teaching journals. It was about taking the blame out of discipline. Now I use a system at the beginning of the year and I just eventually fade it out.

Mrs. Daniels realized that her classroom management was purposeful and well-orchestrated.

Maybe some of the things I do are habit but I'm consciously aware of the safety element so one of my reasons for classroom control is concern for the safety of every child. There are certain things that I do, always watching out for these things. And then, it's conscious because I know the chemistry. I know everybody in the room so I know who bounces off of who and I try to keep people compatible and I try to keep those who are not compatible as low key as possible.

These statements provide evidence that these teachers valued a well managed classroom. They viewed themselves as personally responsible for and able to control the instructional and noninstructional interactions between themselves and their students or among the students.

Classroom Profiles: Common Features

In order to provide a description of the four classrooms observed, I have combined their common characteristics. What follows is a compilation of recurring themes and actions that occurred in the classrooms.

The most noticeable aspects of the classrooms were the organization of instructional materials in the classroom and the large number of students. The pupil-teacher ratio was 25:1. The students' desks were aligned in rows with five desks in each row. The teacher's desk was situated to the side.

The classroom walls were decorated with students' work. The teacher had placed multicultural or multinational symbols in the room. Statements of encouragement such as "You never really fail unless you stop trying" were prominently displayed.

The school day began with the "Pledge of Allegiance." The pledge was followed by school announcements, collection of homework, and, collection of money (for lunch, field trips, books, etc.). The teacher was very business-like in her manner and these routine tasks were accomplished efficiently.

Before the day's instruction began, the teacher invited the students to share "anything important" with their classmates. It was at this time that students' birthdays were recognized or specific problems were discussed. Such moments of sharing time typically lasted 15 minutes. The teacher indicated the end of this period by instructing students to take out their reading books and turn to the page number on the board. The students invariably complied.

Michaels (1981) described such typical moments of "sharing time" as a "discourse-oriented classroom activity"

(p. 423). She noted that this type of activity bridges the gap between the students' oral discourse and the acquisition of literate discourse. When the student's oral discourse style matched the teacher's own literate style, acquisition of literate discourse features was facilitated. However, when the student's oral style varied from the teacher's literate style, collaboration among teacher and student was often unsuccessful and impeded the student's performance.

Classroom interaction was directed by the teacher. There were three basic types of classroom interactions: 1. the teacher interacted with the whole class; 2. the teacher interacted with a small group of students; or, 3. the teacher interacted on a one-to-one basis with a single student.

Curriculum content was delivered through one of these types of participant structures. Students were commonly assigned a section of a textbook to read. The sections were then discussed with the whole class. Small group work or cooperative learning followed. Individualized interactions between the teacher and student usually happened only when a student approached the teacher with a question.

Discipline in the classroom was handled efficiently as part of the teacher's classroom management. Students were aware of the teacher's expectations that they follow the classroom rules. Students who committed minor infractions were told to sign their name in a notebook. If their name appeared five times, they were given an official "behavior report" that required a parent's signature.

Evaluation of the students' work was done privately by the teacher. However, students who had done exemplary work were recognized. The teacher often showed the class a particular student's work or grade. The teacher also occasionally praised a student whose work showed improvement. Samples of good work were displayed in the classroom.

Instruction was delivered in a variety of ways. The teachers occasionally used cooperative learning groups and classroom discussions but self-directed learning was never evident. Recitation and reliance on the textbook dominated the instructional methods. This reliance on textbooks carries with it a subtle decision about what is and is not important.

> Textbooks can be thought of as collections of statements that make authoritative knowledge claims. They make statements about subject matter, social values and arrangements, what counts as knowledge, and what information is more or less important. They assert by inclusion and exclusion what is important and unimportant to study and present the meaning of words as fixed. (Cherryholmes, 1988; p. 51)

The above classroom profile describes the typical teacher and her students. While not intended to give specific details about particular teachers, the profile does depict the general classroom environment that I observed.

Interviews with the teachers highlighted their general lack of awareness of how their classrooms were structured. When questioned about their daily routines or their emphasis on some aspects of classroom management or instruction, all of the teachers responded that they were unconscious of their actions. They referred to their daily routines as "habit" or "just knowing what to do." It became clear that the teachers were as encapsulated within the classroom culture as the students. They continued to reproduce the classroom culture automatically and were remarkably unaware of their roles in the reproduction. The significance of this unconscious reproduction is that the teachers are unaware of how their actions impede participation from students who are not members of the dominant classroom culture.

Instructional Interactions

A review of the literature on multicultural education had led me to assume that some differences in teaching styles due to the teachers' different cultures might be observed. However, the data gathered through observations did not support this claim. In fact, the bilingual Hispanic teachers and the monolingual nonHispanic teachers observed in this study delivered instruction in very similar ways.

Mrs. Ortiz, for example, was observed teaching science and social studies classes. She presented the information for the daily lesson from a standing position at the front center of the classroom. Students occasionally took turns reading aloud from the text. She stopped frequently to

discuss the information in the text and asked questions to check on students' comprehension of the text. This teaching style closely resembles the "initiation/response/evaluation pattern" described by Mehan (1979) and Cazden (1988) and the "recitation script" described by Tharp and Gallimore (1991). This same teaching style was demonstrated by the other teachers who participated in this study.

However, as mentioned earlier, these teachers were known to be effective. There is an apparent contradiction here. The answer lies in examining other factors influencing learning in the classroom. Even though these teachers followed some of the traditional methods of teaching, they also added some very effective techniques. Mrs. Daniels, for instance, was extremely adept at classroom management. Her lessons were fast-paced, well organized, and individualized. She used cooperative learning and grouped students in mixed ability groups. Likewise, Mrs. Peters delivered instruction from the front center of the classroom, but walked around the room, checking on students' participation and comprehension. She stopped frequently to give individual attention and directions. Mrs. Daniels followed the teachers' guides while teaching, but stopped often to elicit feedback from her students. This feedback took on more of the characteristics of the "instructional conversations" described by Tharp and Gallimore (1988) and Cazden (1986). The interplay between questions and answers became so balanced that it was soon

apparent that the students were asking questions as often as the teacher was.

The following excerpt from Mrs. Daniels' social studies lesson highlights this type of exchange.

Mrs. Daniels: Ok, on page 236 we have the word "abolitionist." Who knows what this word means?

Jimmy: (reading from the text) An abolitionist was a person who was opposed to slavery.

Mrs. Daniels: Right. But who can tell me what that means? (There was a long silence.) Ok, let's look at the root word. (The teacher walked to the board and wrote the word "abolish" on the chalkboard.) Abolish means to get rid of something. Now, abolitionists (the teacher wrote "abolitionist" below the word "abolish") wanted to get rid of something. What do you think they wanted to get rid of?

Several students: Slavery.

Mrs. Daniels: Good. Now you're on the right track. So an abolitionist is.....a person who wanted to get rid of.....

Several students: Slavery.

Mrs. Daniels: Jaime, what is this word? (points to the word "abolitionist")

Jaime: Abolitionist.

Mrs. Vasquez: And can you tell me what it means?

Jaime: Ummm.....it's somebody who didn't want there to be no slaves.

Mrs. Daniels: Right. Good going.

Linda: Mrs. Daniels, was everybody in the North against slavery?

Mrs. Daniels: Good question. What do the rest of you think? Was everybody in the North against slavery?

Several students: Yes...no.

Mrs. Daniels: Ok, let's think about the question. (Teacher writes on the chalkboard--"Was everybody in the North against slavery?")
Was everybody in the North against slavery? This is another way of asking, "Was everybody in the North an abolitionist?" Class, look at the question. There's a word in this question that is a clue to the answer. Who can see it?

Several students: North....slavery.... against slavery....

Mrs. Daniels: You're thinking on the right track but you're not there yet.

Mark: "Everybody"?

Mrs. Daniels: "Everybody." Ok, why do you think so, Mark?

Mark: Because not everybody always agrees on something.

Mrs. Daniels: Right. Especially something as controversial as slavery. So, "Was everybody in the North against slavery?"

Several students: No....

Mrs. Daniels: No, probably not. We can make a good guess that people who lived in the North at that time were divided in their views about slavery. Some thought that it was wrong....

Several students: The abolitionists....

Mrs. Daniels: Right. And some thought that it was up to slaveholders to decide for themselves.

Jessica: So, Mrs. Daniels, if the people in the North didn't agree that slavery was bad, why did they have a war about it?

This exchange lasted for the rest of the social studies period. Students discussed the causes of the Civil War, the life of slaves, the Emancipation Proclamation, and many other topics related to the lesson. The teacher's willingness to move beyond the assigned reading in the textbook opened a free-flowing conversation about the topic. Almost all of the students in the class were participating in the conversation. They seldom raised their hands and waited to be called upon, opting instead to speak out as one would in social discourse. Each student's contribution was recognized, repeated, and clarified by the teacher. Mrs. Daniels seldom answered a student's question directly. Instead, she revoiced the question to the class and elicited more conversation from the

students. Eventually, as in the example above, the students' questions were answered.

Observations in the other teachers' classrooms yielded very similar findings. Each of the teachers organized learning activities that involved the students. Furthermore, the teachers emphasized meaning and comprehension. Every observation showed evidence of the teachers' efforts to clarify, expand, and monitor the students' understanding.

Classroom observations looked carefully at the amount of interactions that teachers had with Hispanic students in comparison to nonHispanic students. No measurable differences were found. Both Hispanic and nonHispanic teachers interacted almost equally with the students in their classrooms. Students who were not actively engaged in discussions were called on and prompted with hints or clues if they were unable to respond. There were no apparent differences in the way the teachers instructed students of different ethnicities.

These similarities in instructional interactions support the idea of reproduction of the dominant culture. Even though the four teachers observed in this study are of different ages and cultural heritages, their teaching styles were almost identical. Why? Interviews with the teachers uncovered some similarities among them which may account for their comparable teaching techniques.

First, all of the teachers in this study were graduates from the College of Education of a local public university.

Three of the teachers graduated within 5 years of each other which brings forth the possibility that they received courses from the same professors.

Second, all of the teachers were employed by the same public school system. Therefore, the teachers were all acting under the same regulations and were all using the same textbooks.

Third, all of the teachers had attended public school as students. Although they attended schools in different states, there was apparently enough similarity among the public school systems so that the teachers had similar experiences in the schools. It is also conceivable, then, that the teachers' experiences as students were transferred to their views about teaching. This would support the finding that all of the teachers in this study unconsciously reproduced the dominant culture in their classrooms.

Noninstructional Interactions

The instructional methodologies employed by the teachers did not vary greatly. There was no evidence that the teachers' cultural heritage was influencing their teaching styles. In contrast to the instructional interactions, however, there were many instances that distinguished the monolingual and bilingual teachers in their noninstructional interactions. Furthermore, these noninstructional interactions influenced the atmosphere of the classroom. These differences stemmed from both their language backgrounds and their cultural heritage.

The bilingual teachers, for instance, never used Spanish to provide instruction. Lesson content, classroom management directives, and evaluation were always delivered in English. However, casual communication between the teacher and her Spanish speaking students was often carried out in Spanish.

Both Mrs. Vasquez and Mrs. Ortiz greeted their Spanish speaking students in Spanish, English, or a mixture of both. Examples of these types of exchanges follow:

Mrs. Ortiz: Buenos días, Juanito.
¿Cómo estás hoy? (Good day, Juan. How are you today?)

Juan: Bien, maestra. (Fine, teacher)

Mrs. Ortiz: And your mother? ¿Sientes mejor, ella? (Is she feeling better?)

Juan: Sí, maestra. Fue a su trabajo otra vez. (Yes, teacher. She went back to work.)

In the above example, the teacher used Spanish to provide a connection to the student. Her use of the name "Juanito," instead of "Juan," exhibits a type of endearment that is common in Spanish. In response, the student answers, "Yes, teacher," rather than addressing the teacher by name. Among Spanish speaking persons, this is the most polite form in which to address a teacher. By not using the teacher's name, (which would be considered too familiar) the student is demonstrating his respect for the teacher. The use of Spanish during such social talking influenced the classroom environment and the rapport between teacher and student.

Another illustration of the bilingual teachers' ability to use Spanish to provide a connection to the Spanish speaking students occurred in this exchange in Mrs. Vasquez's science class.

Maria: (approaches the teacher with her book) Maestra, no entiendo estas preguntas.
(Teacher, I don't understand these questions.)

Mrs. Vasquez: Déjame ver, mija.
(Let me see, my daughter.)

Maria: Estas preguntas aquí. (These questions, here.)

Mrs. Vasquez: Okay, let's look at number one. "List five animals that are invertebrates."
Okay, Maria, Do you remember back here on page 86 where we read about invertebrates? That's where you'll find the answer. Start reading aloud here. (The teacher indicated a section in the textbook.)

Maria proceeded to read the section that the teacher had indicated. The rest of the dialogue was conducted in English. However, Maria and Mrs. Vasquez switched back to Spanish at the end of their conversation.

Mrs. Vasquez: Okay, Maria. It seems like you understand now. ¿Entiendes? (Do you understand?)

Maria: Sí, maestra. Gracias. (Yes, teacher. Thank you.)

The teacher's use of the term "mija" is another common endearment among Spanish speaking persons. Although the

teacher does not literally think of the student as her daughter, the term is used frequently by an older person towards a young girl to indicate familiarity and esteem. Like Juan, Maria addressed her teacher as "maestra" (teacher) rather than using the teacher's surname. Here again, the term "teacher" is used as a sign of respect since using the teacher's name is considered to be too personal.

These two instances were not isolated ones. The exchange of Spanish conversation between the bilingual teachers and students was frequent and common. When asked about the use of Spanish in the classroom, both of the bilingual teachers were unaware that they were switching languages. Mrs. Vasquez remarked:

> I don't even know that I'm doing it. It's just when I know that the teaching is over, I feel comfortable with them and I'll just let them know that Spanish is okay and I don't do it intentionally. It's just something that happens. Because when I'm teaching, I want them to be learning in English.

Mrs. Ortiz reported a similar unconsciousness:

> No, I'm not aware that I'm changing languages. I guess it's just that I'm more comfortable speaking to them in Spanish on a personal basis.

Since both the bilingual teachers and the bilingual students were proficient in both Spanish and English, why did they participate in code switching? It is important to understand the complete repertoire of bilingual speakers in

order to understand the function of their language (Kachru, 1992). Code switching is one fundamental aspect of that repertoire. McClure (1977) studied the phenomenon of code switching among Hispanic bilingual children and concluded that:

> ...alternation between languages is neither random nor the result of a linguistic deficit. ...One purpose served by this sophisticated use of linguistic signs is to identify individual bilinguals as members of a particular community. Code switching for the bilingual also functions to mark situational changes and stylistic expression... (p. 26).

It can be concluded, therefore, that the bilingual teachers and students switched languages as a means of recognizing group membership. This ability to communicate on a different level undoubtedly provided a marker of group membership and strengthened the personal relationship between bilingual teacher and bilingual student.

Along with the use of a common language, there was also evidence of the bilingual teachers' experiences as members of a minority group which affected their noninstructional interactions with the bilingual students. Interviews with Mrs. Ortiz and Mrs. Vasquez elucidated some of their beliefs about their Spanish speaking students.

Mrs. Ortiz, for example, spoke of her own experiences as a student:

> At that time, you weren't supposed to speak Spanish in the schools. So, that in the community where I was raised, I don't think we ever spoke much Spanish at the school. You could in the playground. And I remember asking my brothers and sisters during recess--we'd read something and maybe I didn't understand a word or two--and I remember looking for them and asking them, "What is such-and-such?" I remember them telling me and then I could go and understand the lesson better.

Mrs. Vasquez recounted similar experiences during her elementary school years:

> I was in a room where there were only Spanish kids at one time and I remember that we didn't have to speak any English. And then, when I went home it was only Spanish. Then, later on, I was submerged into the regular classroom and when that happened, I just sat in the back.

Because of such experiences, the bilingual teachers are more aware of the difficulties that the bilingual students may be having. Mrs. Vasquez was aware of her role:

> I know where they're coming from. When I was a child, I had to go through the same stuff. I give my students lectures like, "Just because

you're Spanish doesn't mean that you're not any better than they are." And I say, "You should feel proud because you know two languages."

Mrs. Ortiz spoke of the cultural diversity more explicitly:

> ...the culture differs. The reason they sometimes think that you're not as intelligent is because of your reaction to certain things... because of the way you were raised, your culture. Perhaps even body language. Perhaps you speak faster than they do. You're more excited, you use more body language, you speak with your hands. They don't believe in that, they think that maybe you can't express yourself because you have to resort to your hands. Little things like that. And, it's just part of you. When kids come to school, they quickly learn that you can't speak Spanish. You quickly learn the rules so you become used to it. But, something does happen to you. Something happens. You're never part of that school. And yet I loved school and I loved my teachers, but there was something that I didn't belong.

Whereas interviews with the monolingual teachers revealed compassion and concern for all of their students, the bilingual teachers expressed a more personal interest in the Spanish speaking students.

Mrs. Vasquez, for instance, saw herself as a role model for the students:

> I hope that I'll be a mentor. They can look up to me. To see that I've made it. This is what I try to teach to my kids. I want them to be proud of being Spanish, but, I also want them to learn the American way because I want them to be accepted and I want them to be proud of what they are. I feel like the school kids are my own kids. When I teach these kids I feel like I have to prove that they can do it. I have to convince them that they can and they will.

The use of the primary language undoubtedly provided an attachment between teacher and student that was not available to the monolingual English teachers. Bowman (1989) believes that speaking the same language connects individuals through bonds of common meaning and also serves as a marker of group membership. This connection between Spanish speaking teachers and students also provided an avenue for the teachers to ease their students' acculturation experience. The ability to speak Spanish did not aid so much in academic learning as it did in learning the complexities of the dominant culture. The connection that existed between the bilingual teachers and students was a vehicle for acculturation rather than for biculturalism.

By shifting to personal, social, and noninstructional interactions when they spoke Spanish, the bilingual teachers were making a distinction between the language of knowledge (English) and the language of personal interactions (Spanish). This practice excludes Hispanic culture and language from the world of knowledge. Although it is important to note that the bilingual teachers had no choice about delivering instruction to the class in English, it is interesting to note that not even individualized tutoring with bilingual students was done in Spanish.

Hymes (1981) pointed out this hegemonic practice. "The role of language in the maintenance of cultural hegemony in the United States has been little explored...The United States would seem to have a culture in which discrimination on the basis of language is endemic" (p. 62).

Teacher Expectations

In interviews conducted at the beginning of this study, three major themes emerged regarding the monolingual teachers' beliefs about bilingual students' academic potential: (1) The students did not have the necessary concepts needed for academic work; (2) there was a lack of support at home for academics; and, (3) students used English only at school. When asked about their beliefs about the bilingual students' academic potential, the bilingual teachers did not mention any of these concerns. Whereas the monolingual nonHispanic teachers reported that they had equal expectations for all of their students, the bilingual

Hispanic teachers were aware that they had a special understanding of the problems faced by bilingual students. This distinction undoubtedly affected the teachers' interactions with the students.

There has been much research regarding the profound influence that teachers' expectations can have on students' performance (Brophy & Good, 1972; Cooper & Good, 1983; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Schrank, 1968). The perception that bilingual students lack a cognitive base for academic learning is reinforced by poor academic performance. These perceptions have compounded what is clearly a deficit view of students who speak English as a second language, a perspective based largely on the teachers' preconceptions. When teachers perceive students in this way, they often fail to recognize the underlying abilities of students that can enable them to achieve school success. They may also fail to examine how their own instructional methodologies might contribute to the students' difficulties (Commins & Miramontes, 1989).

The bilingual Hispanic teachers spoke explicitly of their expectations. When asked what she expected from her students, Mrs. Vasquez replied:

> I teach them all the same. But, my expectations are even harder for the Spanish students because when they come in here, a lot of the other teachers say, "They can't do that, they're Spanish." There's no such thing.

> You can make them do whatever. The teachers will come up to me and say, "Do you think the Spanish kids are capable of doing this project?" I say, "Why don't you do it? Just see for yourself." And they can do just as good as the other kids.

Mrs. Ortiz described similar reactions from nonHispanic teachers at her school:

> I think that many teachers are busy and if they feel that you're different, they don't pay attention to you. They don't expect you to know it so they think "I won't try as hard." And then, teachers, when they see a Spanish last name, often the child has to sort of prove himself. If they see that the child does very, very well and is aggressive and accomplished, then they accept him as an equal in capability, with the others. But, if not, they just leave that child. "Well, he can't do it because he can't speak the language." I have even heard a teacher say that the Spanish children simply don't have it cognitively.

The monolingual nonHispanic teachers also demonstrated high expectations for their students, but they did not distinguish between the students. Whereas the bilingual teachers recognized that they expected even more from their bilingual students, the monolingual teachers generalized their expectations and did not separate any one group of

students from the others. The teachers who participated in this study were chosen because they were known to be good teachers. The bilingual students did have academic and social success in their classrooms. The question remains, however, as to whether or not the bilingual teachers were able to connect with the Spanish speaking students at a different level, and thus impact those students in a different way.

The nonHispanic, monolingual teachers reported that they had equal expectations of their students, regardless of their cultural affiliation. The Hispanic, bilingual teachers were aware of the difference, but were unable to voice the differences that they perceived. The Hispanic teachers saw teaching in English as a requirement of their jobs. Therefore, the language of knowledge was English. This contrasted to the use of Spanish. By speaking Spanish in personal, noninstructional interactions, the Hispanic teachers did make a connection with their bilingual Hispanic students that made the dominant culture more accessible. This accessibility was conducive to acculturation.

Summary

The data presented in this chapter highlight two main themes. First, the instructional and noninstructional interactions of the teachers and their students subtly replicate the dominant culture. Even if the teachers and their students are not members of the dominant culture, the teachers act as a bridge to the dominant culture so that the

students' acculturation experience is facilitated.

Second, the teachers' expectations affect their interactions with the students. This was especially evident when Hispanic teachers spoke about Hispanic students. Whereas the nonHispanic teachers stated that they had equal expectations of all of their students regardless of the students' ethnicity, the Hispanic teachers were very aware of their personal interest in the Hispanic students. The Hispanic teachers spoke of their special connection to Hispanic students based on their similar school experiences, difficulties in acquiring English as their second language, and similar home culture. These higher expectations even led to the teachers assuming the role of mentor for the students. This mentoring relationship was not evident among the nonHispanic teacher with their students nor among the Hispanic teachers with nonHispanic students.

The next chapter will discuss more fully the idea of reproduction of the dominant culture in the classroom and the pedagogical implications of such a reproduction for language minority students.

CHAPTER V

Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed the surprising similarities between monolingual nonHispanic teachers and bilingual Hispanic teachers. The data provided evidence that the Hispanic teachers were reproducing the dominant culture in the same ways as the nonHispanic teachers. The bilingual teachers' ability to speak Spanish with their Hispanic students did provide a connection that was not available to the monolingual teachers, but that connection was a tool for acculturation to the dominant culture.

This was a surprising finding because it was assumed that Hispanic teachers would act in ways that reflected their minority culture rather than reproduce the dominant culture. The analysis of the data highlighted that while the Hispanic teachers did have different expectations, different sympathies, and the ability to converse in a shared primary language, they used those characteristics to reproduce the dominant culture. It can be concluded, therefore, that despite their home culture, educators constantly recreate existing educational practice (Cherryholmes, 1988). What results, then, is a continuation of the hegemonic practices that exist in public schools. The English language and its accompanying culture have a preponderant influence of authority over other languages and their associated cultures.

It is not fantastical, then, to think that a function of schools has been to make a distinction between certain students on the basis of language. Schools in the United States recognize English as the language of knowledge.

> ...everyone has the chance to acquire English. Any inequality of outcome cannot be the fault of the school or system, but must be fair, must reflect differences in ability, effort, or desire on the part of the students. If it is pointed out that some students begin unequally, relative to the norm assumed in the school, the responsibility is assigned to the student or student's community.
> (Hymes, 1981; p. 62)

Reproduction of the Dominant Culture

The classroom observations provided many instances of reproduction of the dominant culture. There is a close relationship between teachers' interactions and the manner in which those interactions reproduce the dominant culture. For example, the hierarchical structure of the school and classroom followed traditional roles of authority. The principal was the acknowledged main authority, followed by teachers, followed by teacher assistants. Students had no authority whatsoever. Such structures of authority reflect the authority of the larger society. The apparent belief was that if students are taught to respect authority, they can also be expected to respect the government and the law.

Furthermore, respect for authority will translate into a valuable job skill since workers are expected to follow the guidelines of an authority.

The classroom structure also indicated which activities were important. The amount of time allotted for instructional activities greatly outweighed the time allotted for recreational activities. The implication, of course, is that work is more important than play. Along the same lines, repetitions of activities also implied importance. The "Pledge of Allegiance" took place every morning and was done school-wide. A routine activity such as this calls attention to the importance of the activity. The implication is that loyalty to the nation and respect for the flag are significant. This particular school activity has existed for many years. Its role in reproducing specific cultural values is obvious.

Classroom discipline techniques also serve to reproduce the dominant culture. Here again, the structure of authority is apparent. Teachers have jurisdiction over students and the principal has jurisdiction over all. Furthermore, classroom discipline proposes a system of rewards and punishments. Some actions are rewarded with teacher approval, certificates, or recognition, while other actions are punished with behavior reports, conferences with the principal, or suspension. If schools are a reflection of the dominant culture, then this code of conduct in the classroom can be generalized to the expected code of conduct

in the society. Like school, the dominant society has a system of rewards and punishments.

Competition among students was also evident. As mentioned previously, samples of exemplary work by students were recognized and posted around the room. Anything less than perfection did not receive such an honor. Students also participated in competitive games in the classroom. Spelling bees, math drills, and geography games were all designed to eliminate the less competent students and ultimately to recognize the best student. This concept matches the competition found in the workplaces of the dominant culture where getting ahead is rewarded with recognition. Furthermore, this conclusion matches the theories of social reproduction that take the position that schools play a major role in the reproduction of the social formation needed to sustain a capitalistic society (Giroux, 1983).

This work ethic that is so important in the dominant culture was visible in the classrooms. Teachers' words and actions clearly sent the message that work is important and that play is not allowed until the tasks were complete. Recreational activities such as art or music were delayed until the end of the school day and sometimes moved to another day if the students did not finish all of their work. Again, the importance of the work ethic in the dominant culture was reflected and replicated in the classroom.

Finally, the rules of discourse that were followed in the classroom reflect authority. Discourse is governed by

rules and power. That power exerts itself both visibly and invisibly. It operates visibly through curriculum mandates, teacher guidelines, and school rules. It operates invisibly through the way that power shapes feelings and beliefs (Cherryholmes, 1988). When teachers engaged students in either formal academic discourse or informal social discourse, they utilized these rules of discourse. They, as the teachers, reflected authority and power. Furthermore, the exclusive use of English for instruction presented English as the language of knowledge and therefore imbued it with power. In contrast, the exclusive use of Spanish for personal and social interactions limited Spanish as the language of the home. The implication is that Spanish is not as powerful as English. "Some people speak with authority, while others listen as consumers because power infiltrates language we inherit, the meanings of our words, utterances, and discourses, and the institutions and practices that shape their use" (Cherryholmes, 1988).

This study began with the question of why former Hispanic ESL students were having difficulty in the regular classrooms. The data points to the reproduction of the dominant culture which is carried out by both Hispanic and nonHispanic teachers. Such reproduction limits the Hispanic students' opportunities to interact within the culture of the regular classroom since their home culture is not the same as the dominant culture which creates and replicates schools.

Pedagogical Implications

The use of the primary language, the shared cultural heritage, the similar school experiences, and the higher expectations of the bilingual Hispanic teachers indicate a deeper connection with the Spanish speaking students. It became clear from the observations, however, that the use of Spanish in the classroom was limited to social interactions and never used for instructional purposes. A classroom in which Spanish was regarded with the same status as English might help to alter any internalized negative perceptions that students may have about their home language and themselves (Commins & Miramontes, 1989).

There is little doubt that the development of a more interactive classroom could make a positive difference for the language minority students. It is also clear that the ways in which languages are used within the classroom play an important role in encouraging students to integrate home and school learning. If, as in this study, instruction is conducted exclusively in English, the message continues to be sent that English is the only acceptable medium for learning.

The findings indicate that language minority students could benefit greatly from a strong emphasis on extending and elaborating communication skills. Instruction which actively engages the students in tasks that incorporate their interests, are relevant to their community, and, require them to express their thoughts verbally would increase the students' participation (Commins & Miramontes, 1989).

The results of this study confirm that teachers must not only seek to understand their students' strengths but must also assess the ways in which their instruction may inhibit the students' expression of those strengths. It is particularly important to examine the ways in which language minority students demonstrate academic competencies and to organize instruction that builds upon those competencies (Commins & Miramontes, 1989).

Moll and Díaz (1987) studied Spanish dominant bilingual students participating concurrently in reading lessons in separate Spanish and English language classrooms. They found that the English reading instruction did not take into account the total language abilities of the students. Based on the assessment of English language proficiency, students were placed in low reading groups even when they came from top reading groups in the Spanish language classroom. They concluded that the students were not using higher order skills nor being challenged instructionally. Teachers who do not recognize the academic competencies of language minority students may underestimate the students' abilities. One possible explanation for this is that if students have trouble pronouncing English, teachers may assume that they have trouble decoding, and therefore cannot comprehend the reading material. In an effort to remediate this problem, teachers offer basic, beginning-level tasks in English. The students, however, may actually be sophisticated readers in another language (Berliner, 1990). This conclusion supports

the viewpoint that the way classrooms and instruction are structured now, may not be the way in which students' underlying competencies are best reflected (Philips, 1983; Rueda, 1987; Trueba, 1983). The interactions in the classrooms, the kinds of tasks that students are asked to perform, and the diversity in linguistic styles, mask the skills that students possess (Commins & Miramontes, 1989).

One aspect of culture that can affect teaching and learning has to do with the ways language is used during instruction. Even after language minority students have become proficient in English, communication difficulties may exist if the student and teacher are following different sociocultural rules about how to use language (Cazden, 1986). For example, if the students' home culture values strict authority of adults over children, then students may be reluctant to volunteer an answer in class. Such reluctance could be misinterpreted as disinterest or lack of knowledge. Philips (1983) depicted a situation where students did not want to answer questions because displaying knowledge in class was considered impolite since it could make classmates appear ignorant.

Language diversity can be especially problematic during teacher questioning. Children must learn what the teacher's rules are regarding who can speak and when (Mehan, 1979). Furthermore, teachers typically ask questions with a particular answer in mind, in order to evaluate students' understanding. For some students, the purpose of these types

of questions may be unclear (Heath, 1983; Mehan, 1979), resulting in student reluctance to participate.

The social organization of the lessons may also interfere with student participation (Mehan, 1979). As the teacher moves from whole-class instruction to small-group instruction, students may experience varying degrees of comfort or discomfort based on cultural diversity (Au & Jordan, 1981). The use of small groups in cooperative learning has often been recommended for minority students (Kagan, 1986). The rationale behind this recommendation is that many minority cultures instill strong values of group cooperation, and, therefore, such instruction will build upon home experience.

Finally, the area of teacher expectations must be addressed. The literature on teachers' expectations of students is very clear. The beliefs that teachers have about their students' potential can be a major influence on their instructional and non-instructional interactions. "If a teacher mistakes a child's differing style for lack of intellectual potential, the child will likely become educationally deprived as the teacher 'teaches down' to the estimated level, simplifying, making concrete, fragmenting, and slowing the pace of instruction" (Hilliard, 1989; p. 23).

Effective teaching of linguistic minority students implies a teacher's ability to communicate with the students and to engage them in learning interactions in such a way

that their participation determines the teacher's communicative strategies. Viewing teaching as a two-way communicative process forces educators to revise their assumptions about teacher preparation (Trueba, 1987).

Regardless of how students are labeled, learning theory supports instructional approaches that use existing knowledge of the learner as the foundation for future learning. The research of Heath (1986) and Philips (1983) confirm that the nature of the contexts in which students are asked to perform tasks greatly contributes to the students' demonstrated linguistic and academic competence (Commins & Miramontes, 1989).

Recommendations for Future Research

This study focused on teachers who were able to communicate with bilingual students in their shared primary language. Comparisons of interaction between monolingual teachers with bilingual students were also made. The monolingual teachers chosen for this study were white, middle-class, and female. As such, they represented the dominant culture of the community and the school. Future research which investigates the interactions of African American or Asian American teachers with Hispanic students might provide further comparisons of the impact of different cultures in the classroom.

A further question to be researched is the impact of using Spanish with bilingual elementary school students as compared to bilingual secondary school students. This study

showed that the bilingual teachers' ability to communicate in Spanish provided a connection between them and their Spanish speaking students. Future research might indicate whether or not this connection is as strong with older students.

One idea that has not been sufficiently explored in the literature is the ESL teacher's responsibility to encourage biculturalism in the language minority students. While there are many ideas about encouraging second language acquisition through authentic language situations, there is a noticeable lack of ideas about encouraging second culture acquisition. Further research is needed to explore specific ways that second culture acquisition can be attained.

Finally, this study did not consider mismatches between schools and students based on class, race, or gender. A study which looked at the interactions of teachers with students of a different class, race, or gender might illustrate some of the causes for students' academic difficulties.

Summary

Classroom structures continue to reproduce the dominant culture. Instructional activities, noninstructional interactions, and the structure of the school all combine to produce a school that closely resembles not only schools of the past, but the dominant society as well. The teachers that participated in this study were unaware and unconscious of their roles in the reproduction of the dominant culture.

This lack of awareness plus the teachers' reliance on traditional methods of instruction, limit the language minority students' ability to acquire a second culture and exhibit their academic capabilities. Some students may be more comfortable with some instructional methods than with others. These feelings stem from both cultural and individual preferences. The use of a variety of methods to meet the multiple needs of diverse students is the best path to follow. If teachers become aware of how they create the social formats of learning and how they recreate the larger dominant culture within their own classrooms, they might be able to modify both aspects so that language minority students would have greater access to learning.

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